



Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK DENOTES ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

AUG

- 20* Leon Trotsky murdered in Mexico City. 1940
- 23* Soviet Union and Nazi Germany conclude non-aggression pact, opening way for German attack on Poland, and its partition between Germany and the USSR. 1939.
- 25* Paris liberated by Free French forces with U.S. Army. 1944.
- 27* Kellogg-Briand Pact (Treaty of Paris) signed, renouncing war as instrument of policy. 1928.
- 28 Aug-Sept 2. 10th International Congress of Linguists, Bucharest. (Includes non-Communist participants.)

SEP

- 1* Germany invades Poland; World War II begins. 1939.
- 3-8 17th Pugwash Conference on "Scientists and World Affairs," Ronneby, Sweden.
- 8 Summit meeting of Organization of African Unity, Kinshasa, Congo.
- 11* Constituent Assembly election, South Vietnam. Despite Viet Cong threats, 80.8% of voters turn out. 1966.
- 13-15 Conference on Portuguese Colonies, South and South-West Africa, Zimbabwe, and Rhodesia, Conakry, Guinea. Sponsored by the World Peace Council (Communist front).
- 17* (Old Style: 4 Sep) Trotsky released from jail. Becomes head of Petrograd Soviet, sets stage for "October Revolution." 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 17* Soviet Union invades Poland, proceeds to occupy eastern half of country. (See under 23 Aug and 1 Sept above.) 1939.
- 18* UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold dies in plane crash near Ndola, Northern Rhodesia. 1961.
- 25 (to 1 October) Fourth General Conference of BITEJ (Travel Bureau of World Federation of Democratic Youth -- Communist) meets in Budapest in conjunction with FIYTO (Federation of non-communist commercial travel agencies).

OCT

- 1* Indonesia Communist attempt coup, defeated by army. Sukarno's power reduced. 1965.
- 22* Mohandas Gandhi born. (Assassinated 30 January 1948.) 1862.
- 4* USSR launches first artificial earth satellite ("Sputnik"). 1957. 10th Anniv.
- 10* Wuchang Uprising begins revolution, leading to end of Chinese monarchy. Chinese Nationalist holiday. 1911.
- 14* Coup in Kremlin removes Khrushchev from power. Succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev as CPSU First Secretary and Aleksei Kosygin as Premier. 1964.

Briefly Noted



19 June 1967

Unsolicited French Initiative Showed Welcome Results Popular Support of U.S. Policy Reflected in Letters

An effective method of encouraging expressions of appreciation for what the United States is doing in Vietnam and in other world trouble spots is the "Letter to the editor" of local newspapers signed by citizens of the foreign country.

An excellent example of this is the letter (see attached reproduction) in the 25 April L'AUREOLE of Paris signed by a certain Monsieur Hummel urging Frenchmen to send cards to the American Embassy to show that demonstrations of antipathy toward the United States actually come from only a minority of Frenchmen. (The Embassy subsequently reported that it had received, as a result of this private initiative, a flood of mail supporting U.S. policy in Vietnam and saying "Merci" to Americans for their assistance in World Wars I and II.)

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Soviet Asset Not Unilateral

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

For the second time in five months, the Rumanian edition (March 1967) of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM) omitted the lead article contained in the English, Russian and other language editions. The article in question, attributed to Gus Hall, American Communist leader, was entitled "The Foe Does not Succumb to Slogans". The Rumanians objected to it because of remarks it contained which were highly critical of the Chinese Communist Party leaders (specifically naming Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao). In November 1966, the Rumanians also omitted the lead article in their edition. Entitled "October and Progress", it dealt with the differences between the more industrially developed countries of the Soviet Bloc such as East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the essentially agrarian countries, which certainly included Rumania. That article also contained oblique remarks intended to be critical of Red China, such as a reference to the "nihilistic theories of Bakunin". Another article dealing with South and Southeast Asia was also omitted from the November Rumanian edition, apparently because of critical remarks concerning India, Ceylon, and other countries with which the Rumanians would like to maintain cordial relations. As WMR is the authoritative Soviet international review -- though published in Prague, it is Soviet-supported, and its editor is a high CPSU official -- these instances of Rumanian censorship are undoubtedly highly displeasing to the Soviet

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propaganda bosses and further evidence of the widening split between the Rumanian and Soviet Communist Parties. (Unclassified)

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Communist Nations Put on the Spot United Nations to Consider Draft Convention on Eliminating Religious Intolerance

This fall the U.N. General Assembly will discuss implementation machinery for an International Convention, unanimously adopted by the Human Rights Commission at its last session, on the "Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance." Nations which ratify the Convention would be committed to give individuals freedom to believe or not to believe, to change their belief, to manifest it in acts of worship, and to teach it to their children without threat of civil sanctions. These nations would also be obligated to adopt immediate and effective measures to combat religious prejudice.

Quite obviously nations of the Communist Bloc will be reluctant to append their signatures to such a document, or if they do it certainly will be with a considerable amount of mental reservation. During the next few months, therefore, assets should be encouraged to play up evidence of religious persecution and exploitation in Communist countries in an effort to throw as much light as possible on this unsavory aspect of life under Communism before the world community of nations votes on the issue. Suitable background material for this is carried regularly in PRESS COMMENT, and the latest in the series of BPG items in the series on "Communism vs. Religion"



from Headquarters.

* * *

Also Attacks Socialist Government New Clandestine Radio Urges Danish Support for Viet Cong

On 22 May a clandestine radio broadcast was heard in Denmark calling for donations for the Viet Cong and urging that demonstrations be held to protest against the visit of Secretary of State Rusk to Copenhagen 15-16 June. The broadcast also denounced Denmark's Socialist Government as "a faithful lackey of the capitalists." (See BPG Item #1043 of 18 July 1966 for details of how the Communists were courting the Danish Social Democrats last year in the obvious hope, not since realized, of infiltrating the Government via the "popular front" strategy.)

Sources quoted by AP on the following day said the clandestine station is run by "extreme leftists" who say they will soon have a transmitter strong enough to reach all of Denmark. Danish authorities said they would attempt to trace the transmitter and if it is located on Danish soil they will close it down since the law forbids all radio stations except Government owned ones.

While the possibility exists that local activists of the Danish C.P. are operating a portable transmitter either inside the country or from a ship anchored offshore, there is also reason to believe that transmitters located in East Germany might be used for this

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[REDACTED]

the Communist clandestine radio "network" operates from transmitters in East Germany and elsewhere.) Assets may speculate on either location, but in any case should make the point that this is just one more piece of evidence that the Communists continually flaunt all types of international agreements (in this respect international broadcasting regulations) in their campaign to denigrate the United States and all Free World nations which support its policies in Vietnam.

* * *

Professional Meeting Converted Into Ideological Forum

Communist and Free World Journalists Debate in Europe

A five-day so-called "international conference of European journalists" ended in the Italian resort of Lignano on 16 May. TASS reports that it was attended by some 120 delegates from Italy, France, West Germany, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, "and other countries". Representatives of the Communist-front International Organization of Journalists, headquartered in Prague, and its Free World counterpart, the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, met for the first time to discuss such purely professional matters as salaries, social insurance, medical services, and information gathering.

As to be expected in any such forum, however, the Communist delegates seized the opportunity to expound their own political ideology and, as TASS put it, the professional

discussions went beyond their "narrow framework and developed into a wide conversation about the future of Europe, European security, and European unity." The ensuing debates between East and West representatives were marked, according to the TASS report, by a "spirit of mutual tolerance" and highlighted by the remarks of the head of the Soviet delegation, IZVESTIYA Editor in Chief, L. N. Tolkunov, who said:

"No one will deny that we have fundamental ideological differences, but the fact that they did not become a stumbling block in our contacts testifies to the high sense of responsibility for the destinies of European and universal peace as shown in Lignano. This proves that the all-European political barometer can indicate fair weather with more confidence and with less fluctuations and zigzags."

In view of the fact that the conference set up working commissions to maintain contacts with journalists' organizations in various European countries the advice given in BPG Item #1126 of 22 May on the International Organization of Journalists becomes all the more timely, especially since European media comment on the situation in Vietnam gets such worldwide play. The TASS report notes that (unspecified) "major racial problems" were surfaced during the Lignano debates, but we can confidently predict that every Communist wile -- or to use Comrade Tolkunov's word, "zigzag" -- will be employed henceforth to overcome these problems and infiltrate as many sectors of public opinion molding as possible.

Attached is an article from the 17 May issue of Rome's Socialist

AVANTI (with translation) containing some further details on the Lignano session, which apparently passed relatively unnoticed in the West European press. Note that the Rome newspaper version says the meeting heard a speech by Italian Minister of Tourism and Entertainment Corona on "the close correlation between tourism and the press." A short news item in the 16 May issue of Milan's CORRIERE DELLA SERA reported that the Lignano meeting had been organized by the Italian Press Federation and local enterprises in the overnight lodging business. Selected assets might speculate that the tourism angle is not mentioned in the TASS report, perhaps among other reasons because of Communist sensitivities concerning their own tourists who have fled to the Free World while on foreign tours.

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Egypt Use of Poison Gas Verified
Bombs by Red Cross

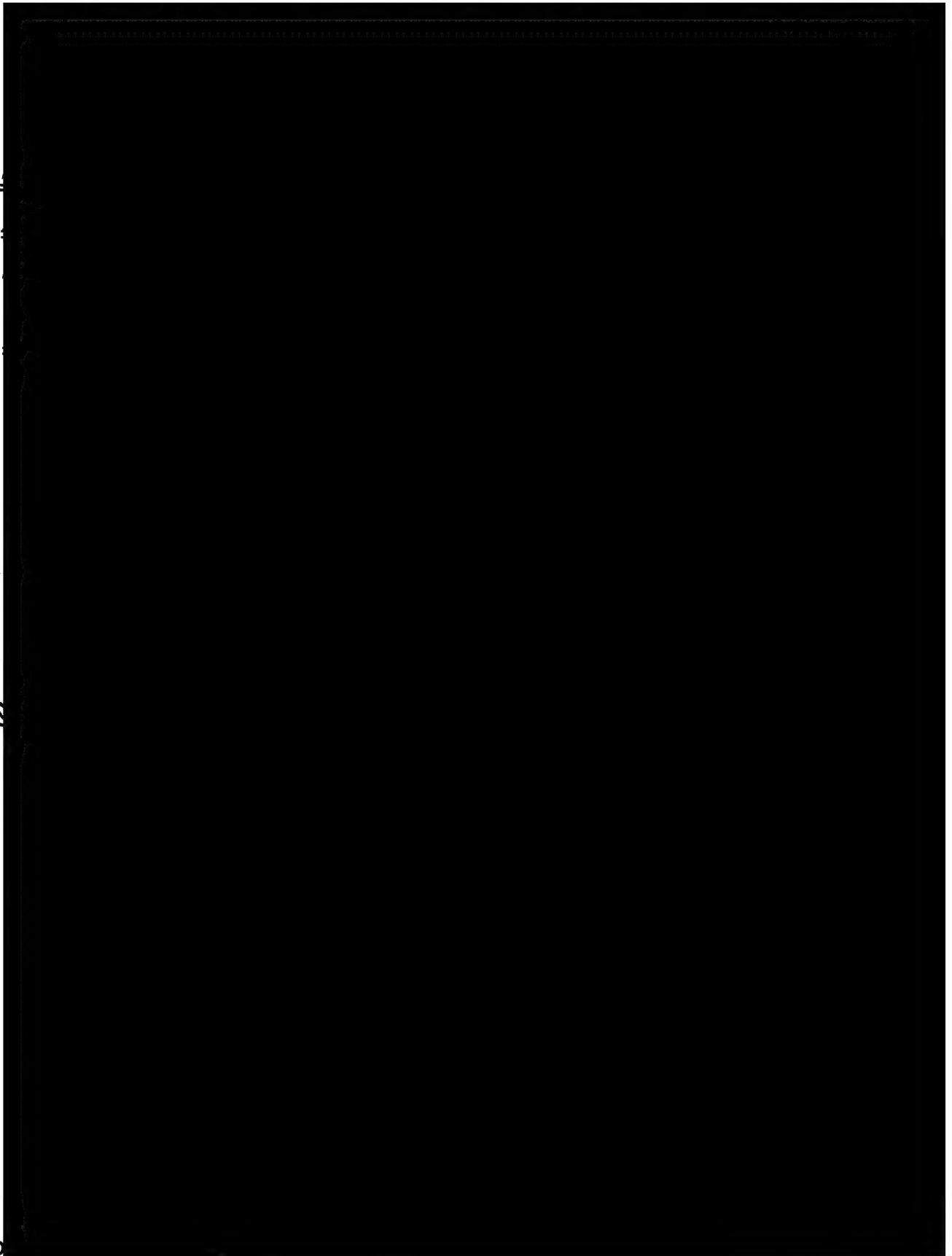
Yemenis
With Gas The International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva issued on 2 June a press release, reporting that its delegates in Yemen had gone on 15 and 16 May to a village in northern Yemen, and had found there evidence indicating the use of asphyxiating poison bombing. Many inhabitants of the village had died of asphyxiation, and the Red Cross team had itself been delayed in reaching the site by an air attack (apparently not involving use of gas). There have been reports of use of poison gas in Yemen for some time, but this is the most authoritative and impartial report to appear so far. The Red Cross did not name the culprit government, but other reports make it clear that the Egyptian government bears the blame in this

situation. (For text of Red Cross statement and other coverage, see PRESS COMMENT, 5 and 6 June 1967.)

The report of the Red Cross did not receive as much attention as it otherwise might have, due to its appearance just before the outbreak of Near Eastern Arab-Israeli hostilities, though West German and U.S. sales of gas masks to Israel were widely linked with this report. Where the situation permits and assets have not previously played the Red Cross and other reports, we recommend play on this subject.

Egypt signed (in 1928) the Geneva protocol of 17 June 1925 against the use of poison and asphyxiating gases. It also voted in November 1966 for a Hungarian-originated UN resolution outlawing the use of poison gas. In the case of Yemen, unlike the use of gas in World War I, those attacked are innocent civilians, including women and children, not soldiers.

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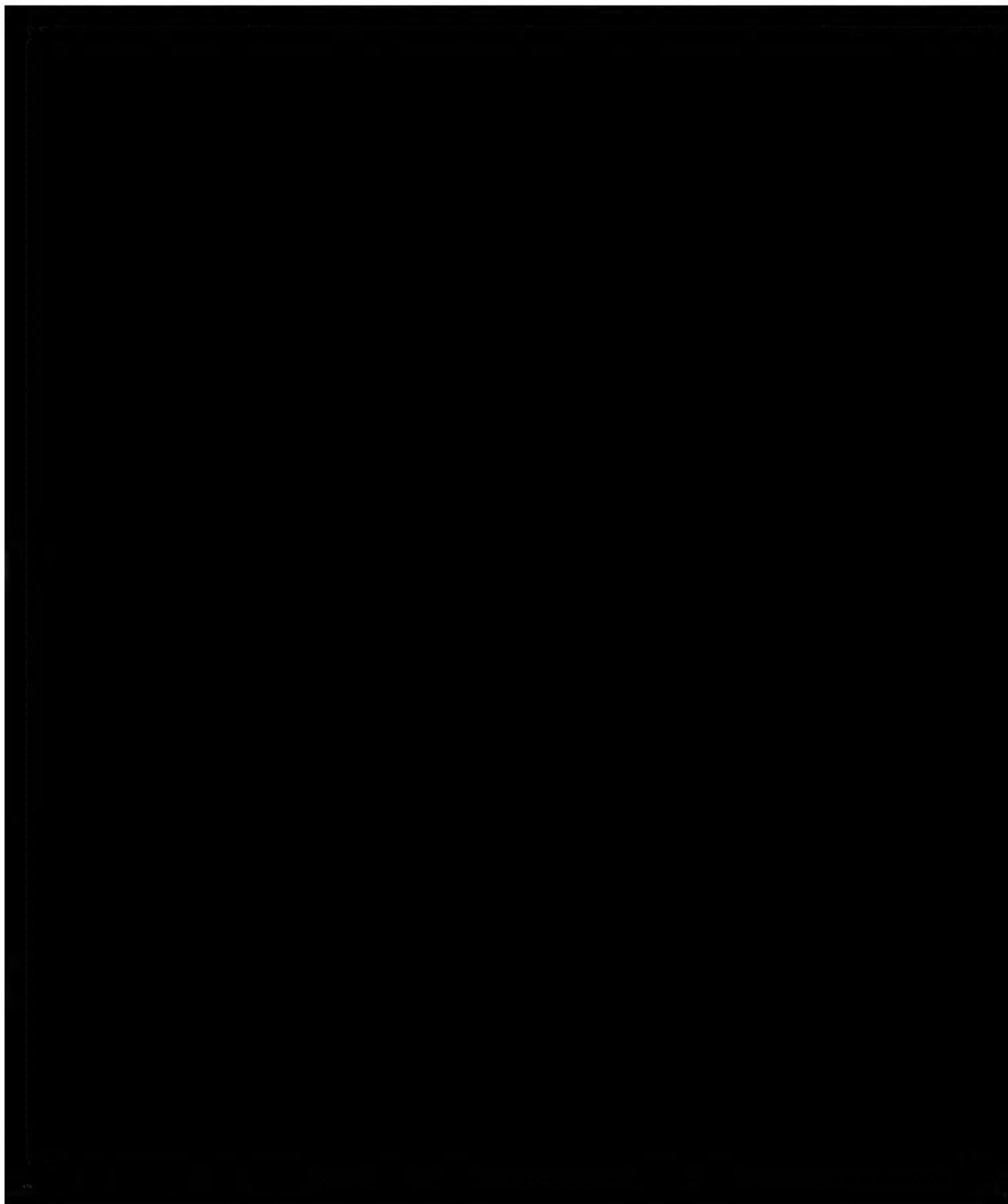
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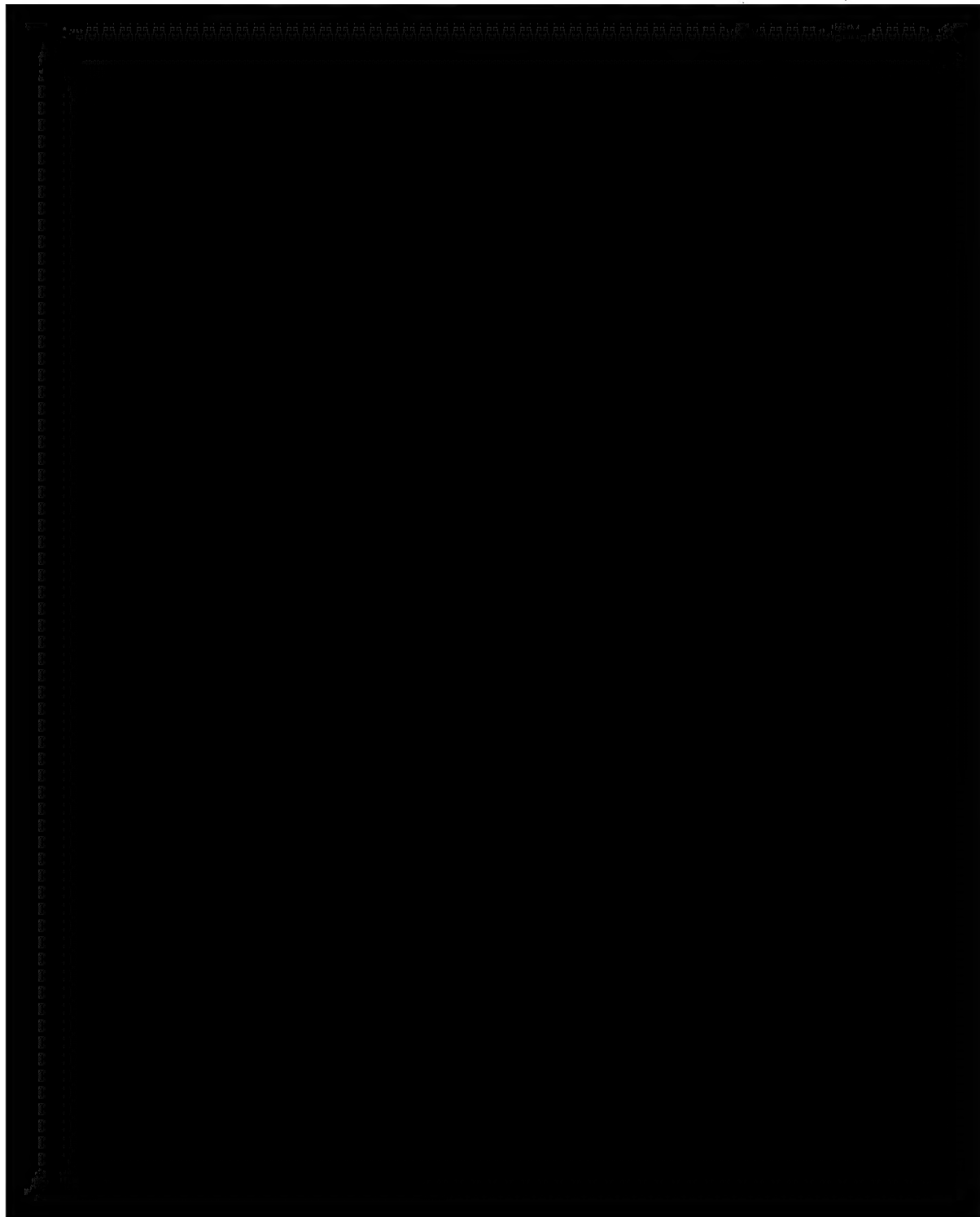


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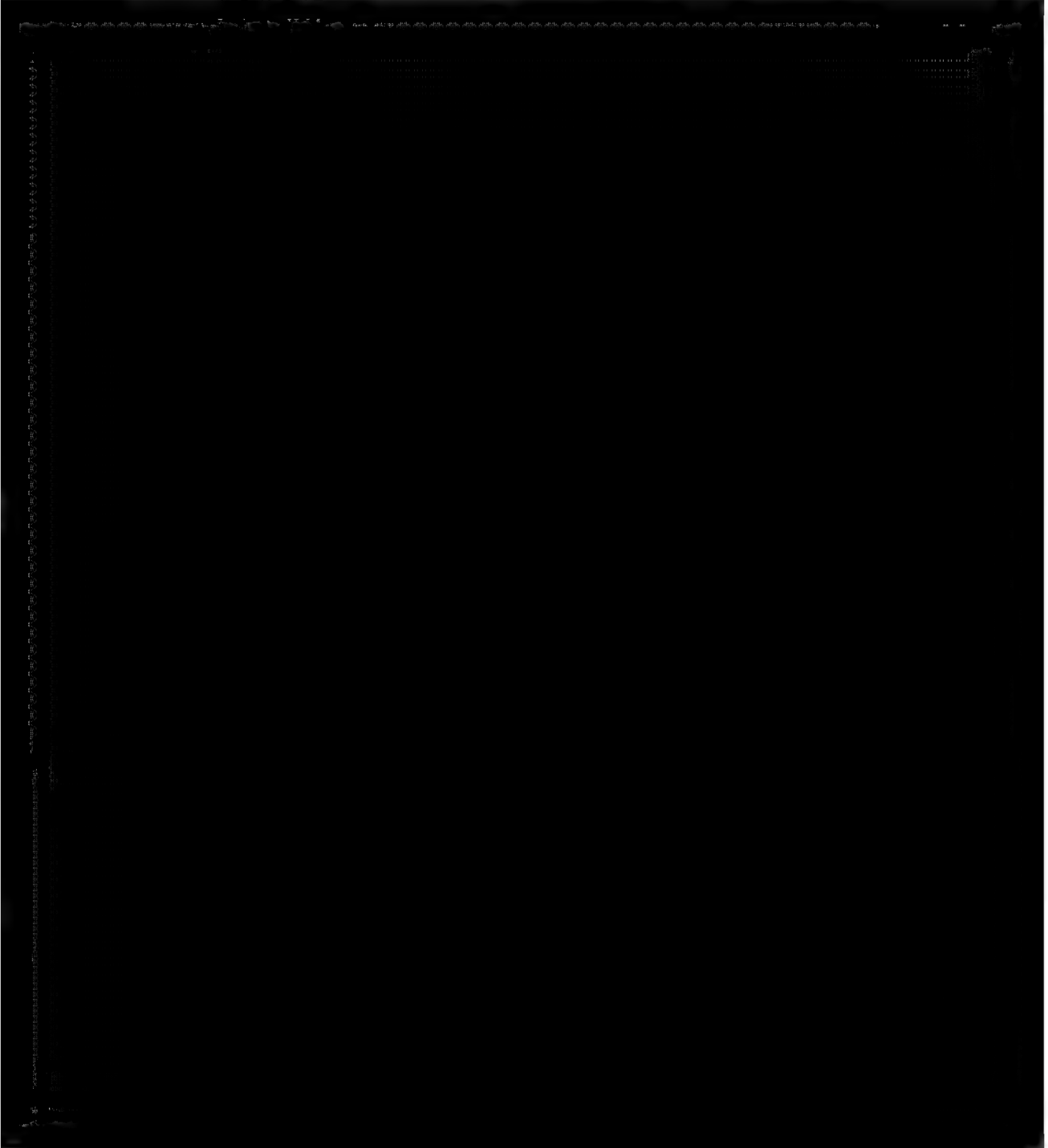


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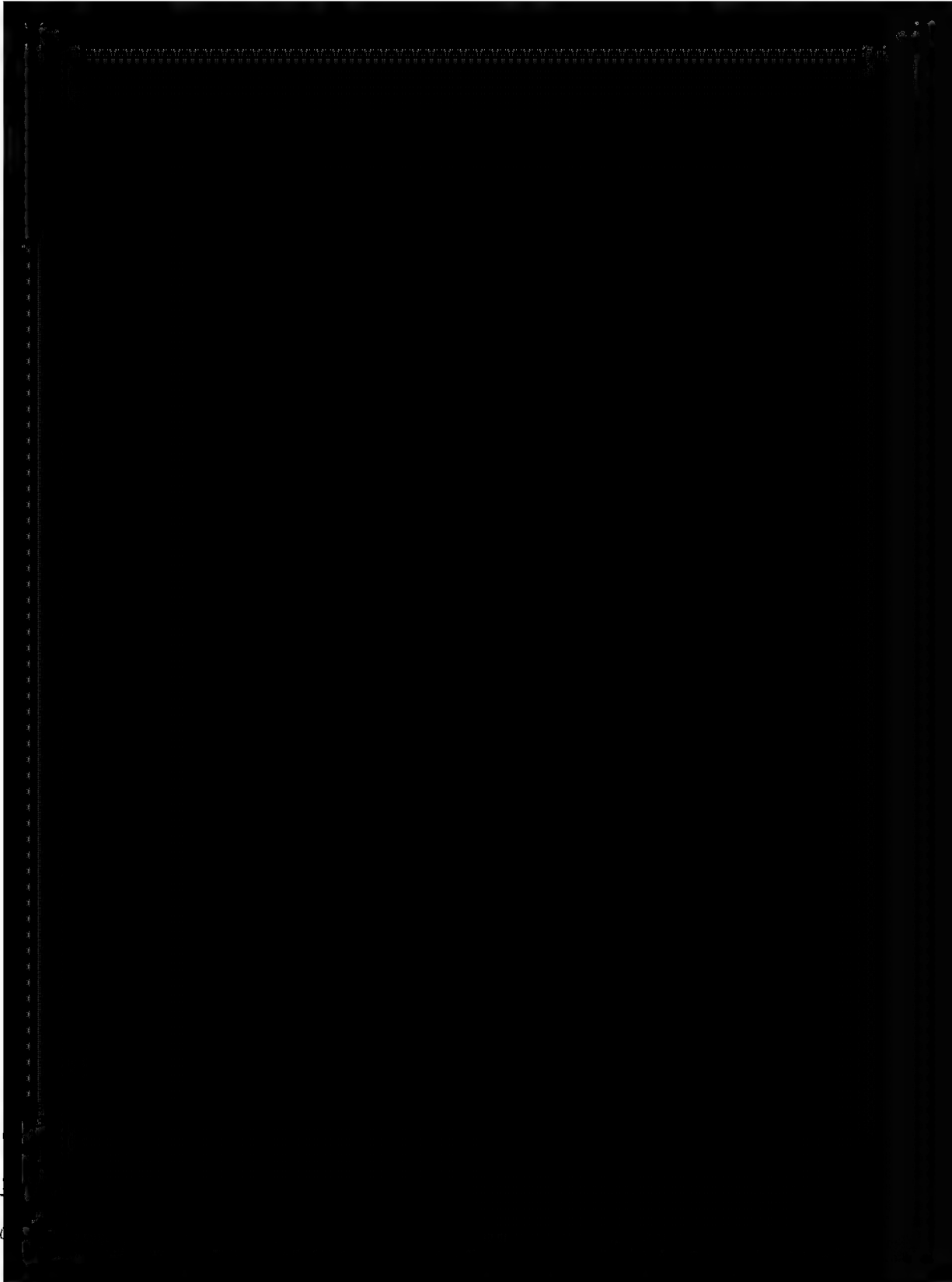
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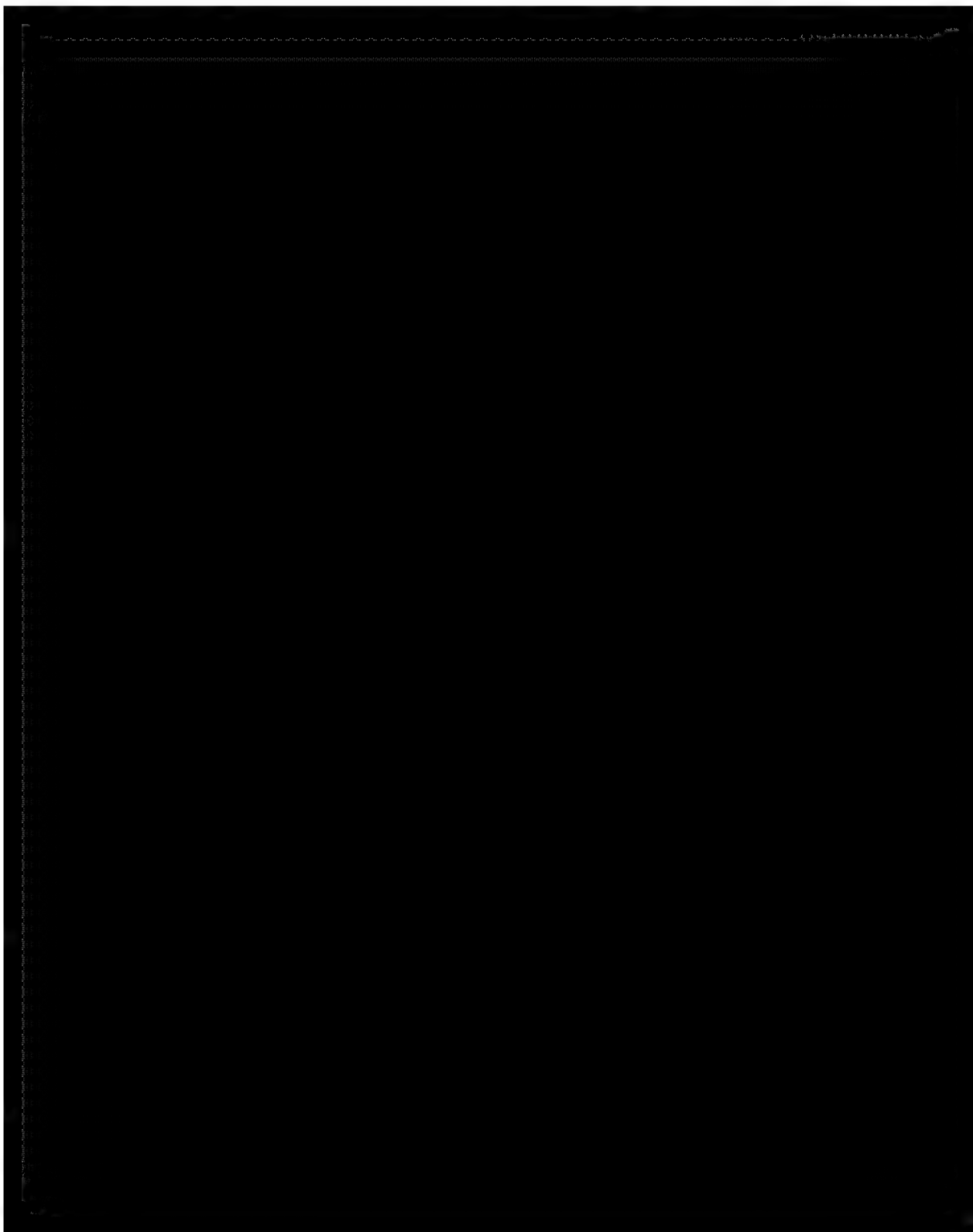
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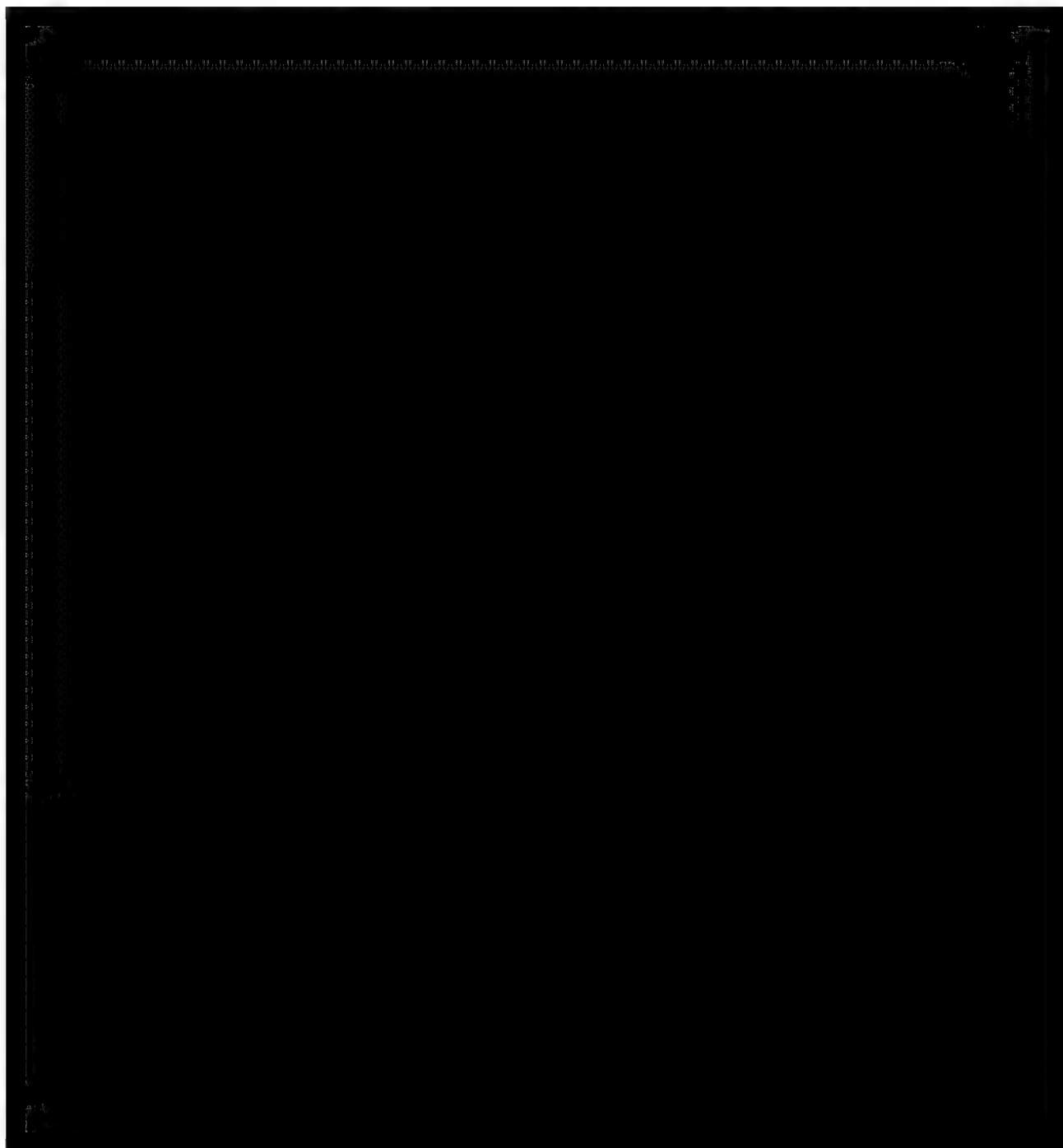
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1135 FE.

ASIAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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SITUATION: Europe's sensationally successful Common Market has put a new luster on the concept of regional organizations. Other brands of regional organizations - political, military, etc. - have their parts to play at various stages of regional development, but eventually seem to be surpassed in impact and viability by effective economic organizations. Asia has no equivalent to the Common Market, nor indeed has it Europe's post-war remains of a developed industrial base and communications system. However, despite Asia's diversity of races, culture, languages and economic development - a variety greater than that of any other continent - there are indications that Asia is able and even willing to work at regional cooperation. In reviewing progress made along these lines in 1966, the conservative and influential TOKYO SHIMBUN told its 1,600,000 daily readers that "1966 has been a year when awareness and confidence in Asia for the Asians germinated" citing as evidence the establishment of the 32-member billion-dollar Asian Development Bank, Japan's hosting of a regional economic conference, economic construction in South Korea and Taiwan, etc.

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19 June 1967

1136.

SOVIET TRADE AND AID PROGRAMS:
In the Light of the Middle East Crisis



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SITUATION: The recent Middle East crisis illustrates the Soviet practice of building aid programs into devices for gaining and expanding political influence over developing countries. Such efforts are often spearheaded by officers of the RIS who, after being augmented by cooperative trade and technical officers, attempt to strengthen the USSR's hold on target countries.* Moscow's success in forging an increasingly influential position in Egypt by providing military aid in 1956 when Western powers refused such aid and by following up their military aid with an impressive construction project (the Aswan High Dam) and other economic aid culminated in the Kremlin's becoming virtually the sole supplier of military equipment for the UAR and, as one consequence, gaining such authority over the UAR military that Soviet officers have played key roles in reorganizing the UAR military establishment.

The basic Soviet trade and aid programs have failed to measure up to the expectations of either the Soviet leaders or the leaders of the developing countries. Economic difficulties at home have prevented the USSR from pursuing their programs vigorously, and have forced the Soviets to curb their readiness to offer aid and to reduce the attractiveness of the terms of the offers. The low quality of the Soviet goods has made a poor impression in many of the 45 developing countries which have been included in Soviet programs. Higher costs of Soviet goods and the uncertain reliability of the USSR as a trading partner have also undoubtedly shattered illusions in developing countries. Soviet military aid, formerly held in high regard, has recently been indicated to be far less effective than had been thought.

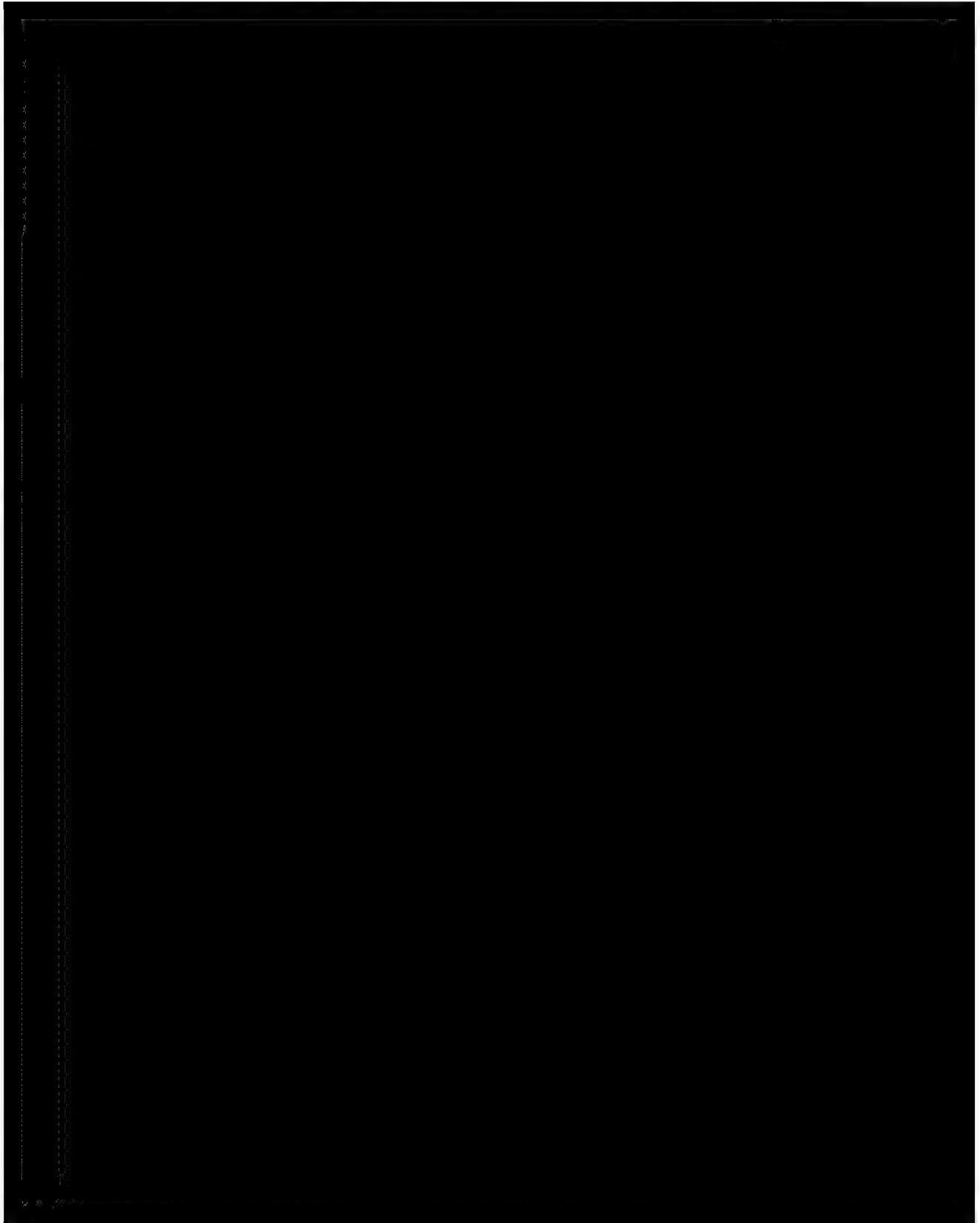
Further background is provided in the unclassified attachment.

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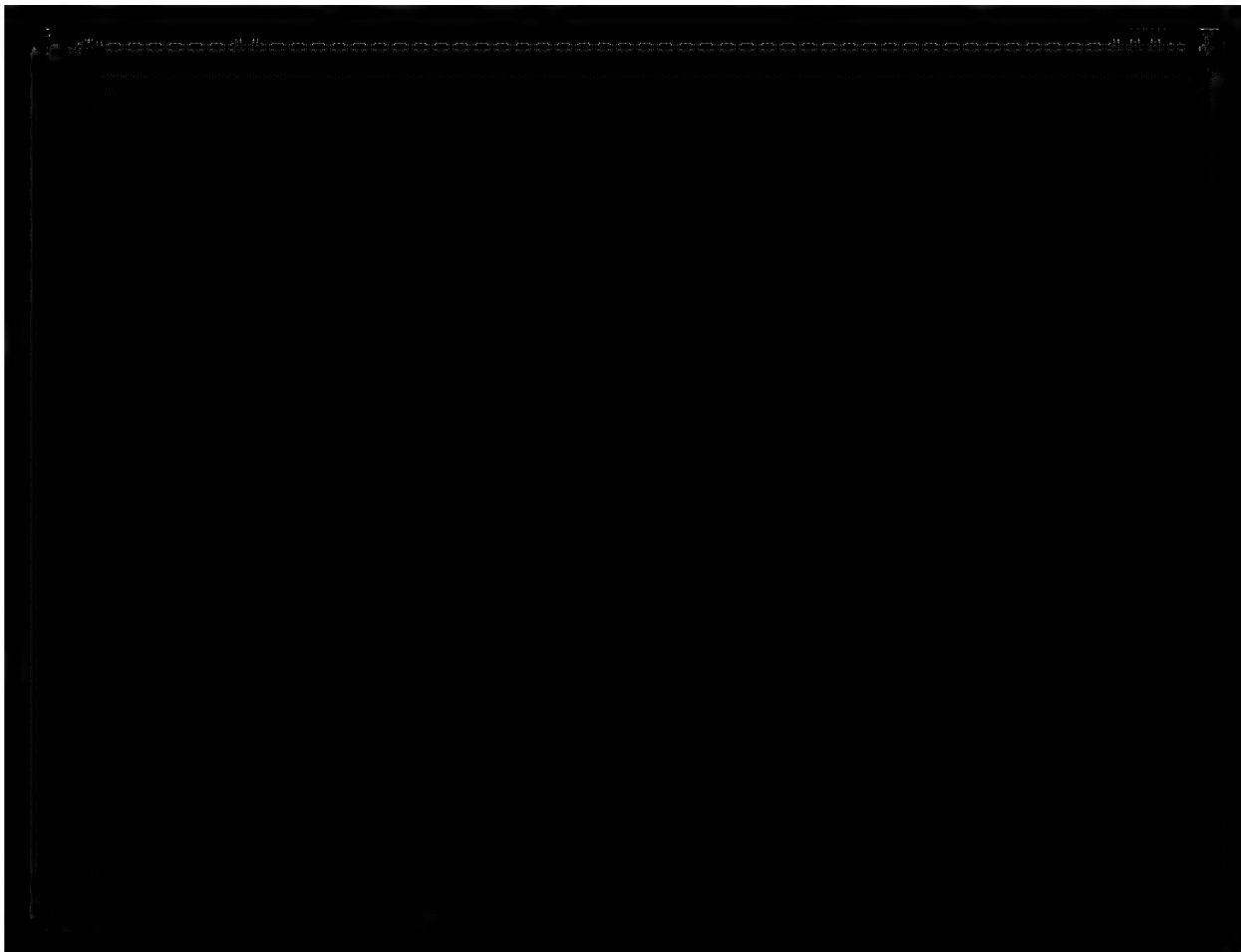


*Examples of RIS officers using trade and aid cover in developing countries who have been PNG'ed: ABRAMOV, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, Ghana; GLUKHOVSKIY, Vasily Vasilyevich, Ghana; KRIVAPOLOV, Viktor S., Ghana; MAMURIN, Leonid Aleksandrovich, Thailand.

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REFERENCES:

FIFTY YEARS OF SOVIET TRADE (unattributed, probably British pamphlet published May 1967).

Carole A. Sawyer, COMMUNIST TRADE WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, 1955-65, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1966.

Leo Tansky, U.S. AND U.S.S.R. AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1967.

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*In the spring of 1967 the UAR tried but failed to obtain a loan in order to pay its current obligations. [REDACTED]

1137 WH. FIRST LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE
Castro Wants More Insurrections

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SITUATION:

LASO

The "First Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference" is slated to be held in Havana, Cuba from 28 July to 5 August 1967. The meeting is sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) (Organizacion Latinoamericana de Solidaridad -- OLAS), a group which was created on 16 January 1966 by the delegations from twenty-seven Latin American countries which had participated in the "Tri-Continental Conference" (TRI-CC) held in Havana 3-15 January 1966.* Although the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) was created by the Tri-CC, there is no direct connection between LASO and AALAPSO. While AALAPSO seeks to inspire, unify and coordinate a common "struggle against imperialism and colonialism" in the three continents, LASO is solely concerned with Latin America.

When LASO was founded, an "Organizing Committee" was created to supervise its activities. It includes members from Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Guyana, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, under the Secretary Generalship of Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado de Hart of Cuba. The Organizing Committee is supposed to supervise the labors of special "work groups" which are constituted to tackle specific tasks. The major products of the "work groups" thus far are a draft agenda for the forthcoming Conference and a questionnaire to be answered by committees in each of the participating countries. The questionnaire has received a little outside publicity, and will probably receive more since it is obviously an intelligence requirement directed at obtaining information about these countries which would only be useful to Cuba for the purpose of undermining them.

On the national level, there are supposed to be "national committees" in each country composed of representatives of all the different organizations which meet LASO's criteria for membership. A key point is that

*Representatives from the following countries attended the Tri-CC: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, French Guiana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Trinidad-Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Surinam joined LASO subsequently.

the Organizing Committee is the final arbiter of who is a member -- and who will be invited to the Solidarity Conference. And the Organizing Committee is very much under Castro's influence. Two of the requirements, for example, are that an organization be "actively anti-imperialist" and "popularly representative" -- both terms subject to definition by the Organizing Committee.

Included as attachments to this guidance are: (a) the text of a Cuban pamphlet "What is LASO?" which describes the organization in fairly complete detail; (b) the text of the draft agenda published by Havana; and (c) a sampling of the questions included in the questionnaire sent out by Havana, along with a PRENSA LATINA article describing it.

Cross-Currents in LA Communism

Unfortunately for LASO, the scheduled Solidarity Conference comes at a time of intense opposition between branches of the Communist movement in Latin America. The split hinges on the basic policy issue of whether the times are propitious for violent revolution or whether Communism can currently best advance by building broadly-based mass organizations in preparation for the great revolution at a later date. (In some cases the latter proposition envisages measured doses of violence in conjunction with a campaign for broader popular support.) As is well known, Castro's Cuba has opted for revolution now, and he is actively backing certain national guerrilla forces, as in Colombia and Venezuela; at the same time, he is apparently trying to forge an international, continent-wide guerrilla movement centered on Bolivia. On the other hand, the traditional LA Communist parties by and large believe that armed revolution will serve only to provoke repression by local military and police forces and are thus a disservice to the cause. (See [redacted] of 10 April 1967, "Castro's New, Continent-Wide Offensive," for a more detailed discussion.) The prevailing opinion is that Castro will attempt to use the LASO Solidarity Conference to impose his views and to press for continental revolution . . . with or without the national Communist parties -- and against them if necessary.

The conflict has reached an almost total impasse in Venezuela and Colombia, where Cuban support to guerrilla forces not under the control of the Communist parties has earned the bitter enmity of those parties. At the moment it is not known whether the Venezuelan CP (PCV) will even be invited to the LASO Conference, as incredible as that may seem on the surface. There have been reports that the PCV may send a delegation to protest against Castro's interference in Venezuela whether invited or not. The Colombian CP (PCC) may boycott the conference if the PCV is not invited; or it may send a protest delegation prepared to denounce Castro in scathing terms. A delegation from Colombia has already been named.

In Chile, the Communist Party (PCCh) and the Socialist Party (PS) are sparring over the composition of the Chilean national committee.

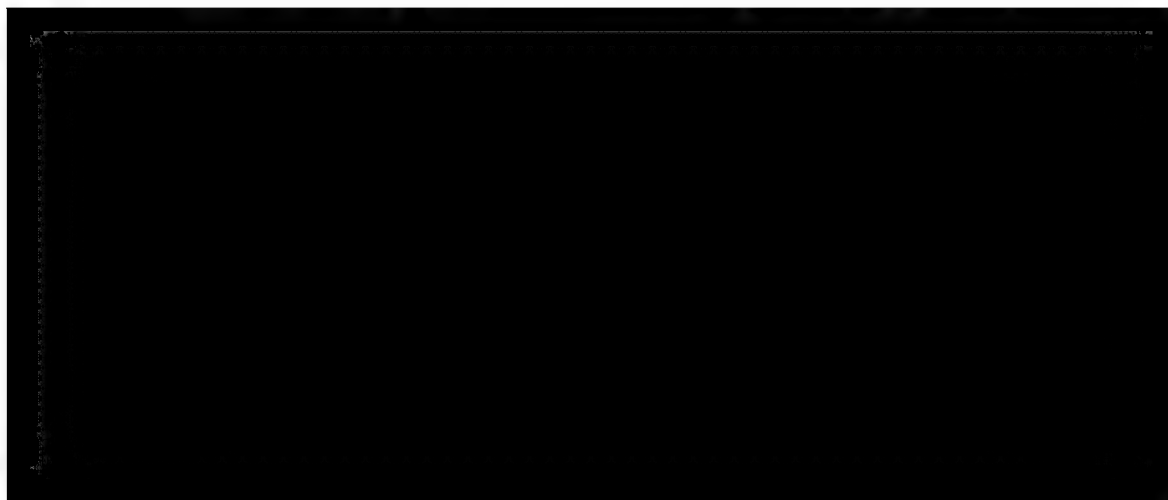
The PS is insisting on the inclusion of representatives of certain pro-Peking extremist groups, which is opposed by the PCCh. The PS leader for LASO affairs is Senator Salvador Allende, who is also President of the Chilean Senate.

Similar problems in forming national committees exist in other countries, in greater or lesser degree. The main issue is usually over the proportional representation of the established Communist party and of extremist groups with some degree of support from Cuba.

There is some evidence that Moscow is striving to mute these conflicts. Uruguayan party leader Rodney Arismendi, after a trip to Moscow in March 1967, went to Havana and then to Santiago to help compose differences between Havana and the PCCh and to prepare the way for the LASO Conference. The upshot of his meeting in Santiago was a joint public statement by the Uruguayan and Chilean parties endorsing unity, the Bolivian guerrilla movement, and LASO. At the same time, Cuba bent a little in its criticism of those parties opposed to armed revolution in their countries. In the major Cuban May Day speech, acting Armed Forces Minister Major Juan Almeida noted that while "action is needed" now in Guatemala, Venezuela, and Bolivia, "in other countries, such as Chile and Uruguay, the need is for aid and support to those actions because all revolutionary organizations should aid the fighters." The implication was that internally these parties need not change their tactics.

It may be that, in the interests of putting on a good show, Cuba will back down on some of its revolutionary strictures and the national parties will come to terms with other local movements in choosing delegations for the Conference. The fundamental antagonisms will remain, however.

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19 June 1967

1138 NE,FE,AF,c.

SYRIAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHES
ATHEIST ARTICLE



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SITUATION: An article appeared in the 25 April edition of the official Syrian Army weekly JAYSH AL SHA'B (Army of the People), entitled "The Road to the Creation of Our New Arab Man"; this article took a strongly anti-religious line, stating that the Arab nation had sought help from the Christian and Islam religions to no avail, and that "the new Arab socialist man...believes that God, religions, feudalism, capitalism, imperialism, those saturated with riches and all the values that dominated the society previously are merely mummified dummies in the museum of history." The article denied that there was a life after death and scoffed at the efficacy of prayer. All in all, the article was an unprecedentedly open attack on religion and was likely to be highly offensive to faithful Muslims. In the past, Syria has been one of the most pious nations in Islam, which historically was a theocracy. (Text and translation of article attached.)

Sure enough, rumblings of protest began to appear after the paper reached readers, a process which usually occurs about four days after the publication date. The 2 May issue was rushed out on time with a front-page article claiming that the atheist article was inspired by "agents of imperialism." At government behest, some religious leaders called on their flocks to "avoid those who seek to spread strife and sedition." But Sheik Hassan Habanaka, President of the League of Ulemas (Muslim notables) preached a sermon at the Midan Mosque in Damascus on 5 May, denouncing the article, and he also called the government "Socialist and godless." Habanaka apparently felt that a stand had to be taken to protect the threatened religion of his fathers. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested, and this led to a protest strike by merchants (on 7 May in Damascus, on 8 May in Aleppo). Khalid al Jundi, a leftist labor leader and member of the regime who makes no secret to foreigners of his belief that "religion is the opiate of the people," warned the merchants that their shops would be reopened by force, and in fact police and soldiers went about breaking padlocks off shop doors with sledge hammers.

On 10 May, Lebanon's AL-ANWAR reported stories from Damascus that Habanaka had confessed to plotting with merchants and members of the Arab reactionary Muslim Brotherhood; the Saudi Arabian Embassy, the Jordanian Government, and U.S. intelligence were also said to be involved

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(1138 Cont.)

in "the reactionary plot." On 11 May, a special military court convicted the author of the article, Muhammad Ibrahim Khalas, and two editors of the publication, Capt. Adnan Hamam and Fatih as-Sammami, to life imprisonment at hard labor. A Beirut report of 9 May (in AN-NAHAR) stated that 40 members of the League of Ulemas had been arrested in the previous two days, and that some 120 senior government officials who had signed a protest condemning the article had been placed under house arrest. Seizure of the property of "45 leading exploiting capitalists" also took place. Amman Radio had reported the arrest of 22 officers on 5 May, including a former assistant commander of security forces, the head of the political branch and assistant police commander in Aleppo, and an officer responsible for the Baathist military organization in Latakia Province.

The Syrian regime also hit out at what it considers to be its foreign enemies with an official statement (8 May) by the Syrian "Military Governor" (the Prime Minister, Nur al Din al-Atassi), blaming the "plot" on CIA, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, and linking it with the "Israeli aggression" of 7 April. (This incident, stressed in Syrian and Soviet propaganda, occurred when the Israelis responded to Syrian border provocation by shooting down six Syrian MIG 21's.) A former Syrian officer appeared on Damascus radio on 8 May, claiming to have returned from Jordan and to have knowledge of a Jordanian-Syrian plot involving Syrian exiles in Jordan, Habanaka, and a number of others in Syria. Two diplomats in the Saudi Embassy in Damascus, the Second Secretary and the Political Attache, were expelled on 10 May, Damascus Radio stating that they were "behind the campaign of incitement carried out by certain plotting reactionary elements during the past few days."

According to a Lebanese news letter (THE ARAB WORLD), however, Khalid al Jundi told three foreign correspondents (FYI: two were Americans) that he disagreed with the "belief" of some Syrian Socialists (Baath Party) that CIA was behind the atheistic article; he said he rather thought the author had been sincere, but that the article had been published without government clearance. Aside from acknowledging his own atheist views, Jundi also said he disagreed with Government "mildness" in dealing with the "counter-revolutionaries" and stated that some blood letting "makes good revolutionary medicine." Jundi declared that "neutralism" in the world struggle between socialism and capitalism meant a partial victory for reaction, that "Socialist Syria" must be completely wedded to "the socialist camp," and that the Baath Party's doctrine of neutralism had been written by right wing leaders who had been ousted in the military coup last year, implying that this doctrine was no longer in effect. (See attachment for copy of THE ARAB WORLD.)

The atheist article itself is rather curious, in that on the one hand it uses terms like "the new Arab socialist man" and "feudalism, capitalism, and imperialism" which seem to reflect exposure to Communist indoctrination (Soviet domestic propaganda often speaks of "the new Soviet man"), while on the other hand a number of Western sources are

named, including Proust, Albert Camus, Julian Huxley, and TIME magazine. Possibly Jundi was telling the truth when he said the author was sincere. (FYI: the charge of CIA involvement is groundless.) But the uproar over the article has certainly been utilized and it is conceivable that the article was prepared as a provocation, with the idea that the protest which could be expected could be used to justify an elimination of opposition. Jundi's exculpation of the author to foreign correspondents could be explained as intended to deceive the U.S. government, which would know that it had not been responsible, and which might too easily divine the nature of the plot if dust were not thrown in its eyes.

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CPYRGHT

L'Aurore, Paris
25 April 1967

★ 1917-1944 :
Merci !

JE pense que nombreux sont ceux qui, comme moi, n'acceptent pas la façon dont certaine autorité tolère que soient traités nos amis américains.

Pour leur prouver que toutes les manifestations d'antipathie à leur égard ne sont que le fait d'une minorité, je suggère d'envoyer à l'ambassade américaine à Paris, une simple carte postale sur laquelle figurerait par exemple deux dates et un mot tels que : « 1917-1944 ». Merci et la signature.

Jean HUMMEL,
Le Grand Mercuill,
37-Joues-les-Tours.
De nombreuses initiatives analogues ont déjà été prises de divers côtés.

June 1967

Avanti, Rome, 17 May 1967

The International Journalists' Meeting Concluded

The Community of European Journalists Comes into Being

Two Working Groups Established to Bring About Close Cooperation -

A Speech by Minister Corona - Solidarity with the Journalists Arrested in Greece

Udine, 16 May. The international convention of European journalists, which began in Lignano Sabbiadoro last Friday, concluded its deliberations this morning with a speech by Minister of Tourism and Entertainment Corona, who spoke on the close correlation between tourism and the press.

Previously, the approximately 100 journalists from 14 European countries, who had come together at Lignano Sabbiadoro as representatives of their respective national professional trade-union organizations, had approved a motion concluding their deliberations in which, after having declared that it will also be "possible to hold a frank, useful and constructive meeting of journalists from all the countries of Europe in regard to future co-operation in the ethical, professional, and trade-union areas", decided "to proceed, after ratification by the respective statutory bodies of the national trade unions represented, to set up two international working groups, which would be assigned the tasks, respectively, of comparing the rules covering working conditions for journalists in all the nations of Europe and those which protect journalists in the welfare and social security

areas."

The first group is made up of representatives from France, Italy and Poland, the second of delegates from the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Hungary. The two groups will have the task of putting into effect, through studies, exchanges and proposals, a concrete, consistent program of co-operation among professional journalists on the international level.

The motion was approved unanimously, by acclamation. A subsequent order of the day, furthermore, expressed the sense of deep emotion felt by those attending in regard to the present situation in Greece and their feeling of solidarity with the numerous Greek journalists who have been imprisoned and deprived of their jobs.

Minister Corona, in his speech, stated emphatically that the press and tourism can be considered as two of the most characteristic aspects of modern civilization. "The press and tourism," he said, "both came into being for the same reason and have the same purpose - to satisfy the desire for information and knowledge, which is spreading ever more widely among the people of the world because of the increasing participation by the people in the decisions which the great political, sociological and cultural topics in which the nations are interested call for."

[The remainder of the article quotes Minister Corona at some length, but his remarks were concerned with the subject of tourism rather than with relations among European journalists.]

Avanti, Rome
17 May 1967

Nasce la comunità dei giornalisti europei

Costituiti due gruppi di lavoro per realizzare una stretta collaborazione - Un discorso del compagno Corona - Solidarietà coi giornalisti arrestati in Grecia

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UDINE, 16. — Il convegno internazionale dei giornalisti europei, cominciato a Lignano Sabbiadoro venerdì scorso, ha chiuso stamane i suoi lavori con un intervento del ministro del Turismo e Spettacolo, compagno Corona, il quale ha parlato sulla stretta correlazione esistente fra la stampa ed il turismo.

In precedenza, i circa cento giornalisti di 14 paesi europei, convenuti a Lignano Sabbiadoro in rappresentanza delle rispettive organizzazioni sindacali professionali nazionali, hanno approvato una mozione conclusiva dei lavori in cui, dopo aver constatato che è « possibile » un incontro leale, proficuo e costruttivo, anche in funzione di una futura cooperazione sul piano etico, professionale e sindacale fra i colleghi di tutti i paesi d'Europa, deliberano di « procedere, previa ratifica da parte degli organi statutari dei rispettivi sindacati nazionali rappresentati, alla costituzione di due gruppi di lavoro internazionali, che abbiano rispettivamente il compito di confrontare le norme che regolano, in ogni nazione europea, il rapporto di lavoro giornalistico e quelle che tutelano il giornalista sul piano dell'assistenza e della previdenza sociale ».

Il primo gruppo è composto da rappresentanti della Francia, dell'Italia e della Polonia, il secondo da delegati della Germania Federale, dell'Italia e dell'Ungheria. I due gruppi avranno il compito di dar corso, attraverso studi, scambi e proposte, ad una concreta, solidale attività di collaborazione della categoria giornalistica a livello internazionale.

La mozione è stata approvata all'unanimità per acclamazione. Un ordine del giorno successivo ha espresso inoltre, il senso di emozione profonda per la situazione attuale in Grecia e la solidarietà verso i numerosi giornalisti greci imprigionati e privati del loro posto di lavoro.

Nel discorso che il ministro Corona ha pronunciato è stato messo in rilievo che « la stampa ed il turismo possono essere considerati due aspetti fra i più caratteristici della civiltà moderna ». « Stampa e turismo — ha detto — hanno entrambi la stessa matrice e gli stessi presupposti: il desiderio di informazione e di conoscenza, che è sempre più diffusa nell'opinione pubblica mondiale, per la sua crescente partecipazione alle decisioni che investono i grandi temi politici, sociologici e culturali delle nazioni ».

Il ministro Corona ha quindi riassunto alcuni dati della dinamica del fenomeno turistico, osservando che « dal 1950 al 1966 la evoluzione del turismo internazionale è stata imponente: si è passati dai 25 milioni 281.410 turisti registrati nel vari continente a 127 milioni 890.000, con un aumento di oltre cinque volte. Le spese sono salite da 2100 a 13.000 milioni di dollari. Assai elevata — ha rilevato il ministro — è stata la dinamica dei viaggi nei paesi europei: si è passati da 17

milioni circa a 95 milioni e mezzo di arrivi. Gli introiti valutari sono saliti da 890 milioni di dollari a 8120 milioni, con un aumento di oltre nove volte ».

Corona ha detto che, come fenomeno di massa, il turismo investe problemi di ogni ordine: da quelli che riguardano da vicino la formazione etica e l'elevazione culturale a quelli eminentemente di costume e dei rapporti sociali; da quelli economici, a quelli strettamente organizzativi. « E' di fronte a questi caratteri del fenomeno — ha detto l'on. Corona — che si configura la responsabilità precisa dei pubblici poteri e della stessa opinione pubblica, una responsabilità precisa dei pubblici poteri e della stessa opinione pubblica, una responsabilità che investe, a livello nazionale, i governi e sul piano nazionale gli Stati e gli organismi di cooperazione politica ed economica ».

Il ministro ha concluso con un appello perché anche la stampa sostenga la sollecita approvazione in Parlamento delle due leggi, predisposte dal suo ministero, per un più adeguato assetto legislativo del turismo. Successivamente, il dott. Adriano Falvo, presidente della giunta esecutiva della Federazione nazionale della stampa italiana, ha consegnato al ministro una medaglia d'oro.

NEW YORK TIMES
6 September 1966JAPANESE DISCUSS
TRANS-ASIA TRAIN6,250-Mile Line Would Link
Saigon and Istanbul

TOKYO (Reuters)—The construction of a 6,250-mile railroad running through 10 countries from Saigon to Istanbul is being discussed by a group of Japanese political and business leaders. They believe the Asian trunk rail line linking Southeast Asia and Europe could be laid within 20 years at a total cost of about \$10-billion.

According to the group's spokesman, Yoshiteru Tamura, director of the Japanese Development Institute, Japanese engineers are confident it is technically possible to build the express railroad line on the pat-

tern of the Tokaido line connecting Tokyo with Osaka in western Japan by means of super-express trains.

It is hoped the project will get financial support from all major industrial nations. The first survey team for the project may be sent on a Japanese Government subsidy to Southeast Asia next year to make on-the-spot investigations.

At the same time, the plan may be unofficially put before delegates at next year's general meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to sound out foreign reaction.

Low Fare Seen

Under the present plan, the railroad would pass through Cambodia, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey, Mr. Tamura said.

On the basis of experience of the present Tokaido trunk line, the entire trip from Saigon to Istanbul by the Asian trunk line should cost a passenger only 66,000 yen (about \$184).

At the present average speed of the Japanese "Bullet Express," the journey across the Asian mainland would take about 60 hours, but Japan's National Railroads are trying to develop a faster train expected to develop a maximum speed of about 310 miles an hour, Mr. Tamura said.

If such a super-express were used, he added, it might be possible to travel from southeast Asia to Europe by train in less than 24 hours.

Mr. Tamura explained that the project was "born out of the shock we felt last year when we learned that Manila had been chosen as the site of the Asian Development Bank instead of Tokyo.

"The development taught us that we must have plans of our own in the matter of helping the developing nations. We reflected upon our policy of always relying upon projects worked out by someone else."

Advantages Listed

Another reason for advocat-

ing the project is that Japanese experts and engineers are "anxious to apply their skill to a big international program," he said, recalling that some Japanese railroad experts proposed the construction of a "Berlin-Tokyo Bullet Railway" during the 1930's.

According to Mr. Tamura, the Asian nations supply transport at much lower cost than highways or airlines and provide ideal tourist attractions, and help Westerners appreciate Asia and the Far East.

It would be better if the Asian trunk line could be started from Tokyo and made to run through Korea and China to southeast Asia, he said but under present political circumstances there was no alternative but to choose Saigon as the starting point.

Mr. Tamura stressed that it was up to the nations concerned to decide whether or not the Saigon-Istanbul line was worthwhile. Japan has no intention of imposing it on other countries or monopolizing the idea, he said.

TIME, FEBRUARY 3, 1967

The most hopeful event in Asia today, Washington believes, is the sudden blooming of regional cooperation among countries that for centuries were divided by animosity. Japan, long passive, last year sponsored a regional Southeast Asia economic conference before which Prime Minister Eisaku Sato declared: "Blood is thicker than water. We are all brothers, born and raised in Asia."

Dozens of new organizations have sprung to life, ranging from APO (Asian Productivity Organization) to SEAMES (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Secretariat). Many of the ideas have been spawned by the U.N.'s energetic regional branch, called ECAFE (Economic Commission for the Far East), which has sponsored conferences on every subject from city planning to child welfare. The Colombo Plan mixes assistance from six donor nations (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the U.S.) with mutual help from 18 largely recipient countries in a loose system of cooperation; it thus encourages recipients themselves to give to their own needier neighbors.

Still in the fragile and formative stages, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) has brought Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines together for a series of meetings on economic and social cooperation. The experts are talking about selective tariff reductions and a possible joint shipping line.

Nine Far Eastern nations have begun work on the larger Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), established in Seoul last June. ASPAC's goals are also modest: economic, social and cultural coordination, a technicians' pool, and a commodity and fertilizer bank. Its membership—the three ASA countries, plus Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Australia and New Zealand—is particularly interesting. For one thing, it underlines the new willingness of both Japan and Australia to play important roles in Asian affairs. Both nations are also leading figures in the new 32-member Asian Development Bank, which opened its doors last month with an initial planned capitalization of \$1 billion.

A New Model

The nature of things in the next decade is certain to push Japan southward into the rich markets and swirling politics of its Asian neighbors. Australia, just as certainly, is being driven northward to meet responsibilities it has shrugged off for generations. The two old foes of two decades ago already share some surprising ties. In twelve years, Australia's exports to Japan quadrupled, and the Japanese are the second largest customers for Australian wool. Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt admits that his concept of relations with Asia has undergone great change, and frankly credits it to "the marriage of our own raw material and primary production to Japan's enormous industrial potential."

There would be economic sense in further Asian groupings. A revival of Sukarno's Maphilindo (Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia), which fell apart because of his own anti-Malaysia campaign, would furnish markets for Indonesia's untapped riches. If some military and political stability can ever be achieved, a logical common market would be the Southeast Asia peninsula, including Burma, with its interlaced river network providing needed transportation. And, except for Japanese-Korean animosity, Japan could reduce its production costs by farming out some industries to South Korea, where people need the jobs, and aim for Taiwan as a market.

Says Kukrit Pramoji, a leading Thai journalist: "The prime desire for most Asians in this region is to write 'Yankee Go Home' on every wall. It's in their subconscious, even though they realize the Americans mean well and we need their protection. Now we're trying to build a substitute for the United States—a United States of Asia. That's the dream now." It is only a paper dream, when measured against the near chaos that prevails in much of Asia. Still, it is significant that Asian countries no longer look to Communist China as the model for economic development, are willing to submerge at least some old feuds in a common desire for self-help.

TIME, DECEMBER 2, 1966

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ASIA

Toward Economic Cooperation

A significant step toward the economic integration of Asia was taken in Tokyo last Thursday, as the Asian Development Bank held its inaugural meeting. More than 500 delegates from 32 countries and nine international agencies, including financial experts, ranking world bankers and top-level government officials such as U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler, unanimously elected Japan's Takeshi Watanabe, 60, president for a five-year term. At the same time, they also agreed to admit Indonesia and Switzerland as the bank's 31st and 32nd members.

Watanabe, a former executive director of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and for 20 years a Japanese Finance Ministry official, stressed that politics would not play a role in granting loans to underdeveloped Asian countries. "I believe," he said, "that we will get along very well on the basis that economic development benefits everybody." He assured the assembled monetary experts that "soft" loans for financially insecure borrowers would be available through special funds administered by the bank. And he emphasized the bank's basically Asian character. Of the \$1 billion in capital funds that will eventually be at the bank's disposal, the U.S. and Japan are the largest contributors: \$200 million each. But 60% of the funds come from 19 Far Eastern countries, and both the president and seven of ten directors are from that region.

The bank will open in rented quarters in Manila on Dec. 19, begin full-time operations by early next year. Construction of a permanent Manila headquarters, now in the design stage, is expected to begin by mid-1967.

The Yellow Rolls-Royce. The inauguration of the ADB took place one week after the start of the first Asian International Trade Fair in Bangkok. Set up by the Thais, but nursed to fruition by the same Bangkok-based U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East that inspired the formation of the ADB, the fair opened with Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej releasing 2,509 pigeons—one for each year of the Buddhist era. The King then joined his beautiful wife, Queen Sirikit, for a swing through 250 acres of fairgrounds in a yellow Rolls-Royce.

Some 3,000 corporations from within and without Asia set up exhibits and began bargaining at Bangkok, but the fair's main purpose is to stimulate trade, even among sometimes warring Asian nations. Included in their offerings: electrical and telephone equipment from India, machine tools and transistor radios from Pakistan, tires and textiles from South Korea, lacquerware handicrafts from South Viet Nam, ciga-

rettes from Laos and air conditioners from Hong Kong.

Despite all the proud displays, a meaningful volume of intra-Oriental trade still remains a vision of the future. But the fair and the new Asian Development Bank could, as Japan's Premier Eisaku Sato put it at the ADB inaugural, mark the "opening of a new era in the history of Asia."

THE ECONOMIST
APRIL 17, 1967

Work in Progress

"THE vast Mekong river," said President Johnson on April 7th, when he pledged support for a big development plan in south-east Asia, "can provide food and water and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA." The 2,600-mile river and its many tributaries in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are as yet almost wholly undeveloped. They yield no hydro power—yet their capacity is at least 20 million kilowatts. Uncontrolled flooding restricts cultivation in many areas. Only 3 per cent of the whole river basin is irrigated—and in this region, irrigation could mean two or three rice crops a year instead of only one.

Construction of five dams on tributaries in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia is already under way, at a cost of some £13 million. The largest, at Nam Pong, is to be completed this year; a German loan has covered half of the cost. Other work already under way includes the dredging of silted stretches of the river and the marking of channels for navigation. Meanwhile contributions or pledges from 21 countries (in addition to the four riparian states) have built up, since 1957, to a total of £10 million in resources available for surveys, planning and other pre-investment work. Over fifty teams of surveyors and other experts are now working in the river basin under the general authority of the Mekong committee, the co-ordinating body that the four states set up in 1957 with the support of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (Ecafe) in Bangkok.

The first study of the Mekong's potential was made by Ecafe in 1952. Its closer study in 1957 led to a four-month inspection tour by a UN team of experts on water resources and power, led by General Wheeler, the World Bank's chief consultant in this field, who confirmed the Ecafe findings and drew up a five-year programme of detailed investigation. Hydrologic stations were set up and aerial mapping began in 1959. Three major mainstream projects have been approved, and plans for 14 more are due to be ready within two or three

years. One involves building a dam at Pa Mong, west of Vientiane, to irrigate 2½ million acres in Thailand and Laos. The other two are in Cambodia: one would irrigate 250,000 acres and multiply Cambodia's power output fifteen times; the other involves a gated barrage to control the Tonle Sap tributary. This would stabilise the water level in Cambodia's great lake, the fluctuations of which are rapidly killing the fish, and not only double the potential fish catch but also rescue much of the Mekong delta from salination that now makes large areas unfit for cultivation.

The whole complex of pre-investment surveys and experiments is regularly reviewed by an international advisory board, of which General Wheeler has been chairman since its creation six years ago. A feature of the Mekong programme is that it has gone forward through periods during which the riparian states have been quarrelling fiercely; even at times when diplomatic relations have been broken off. Co-operation in this work has continued. Mr Johnson's expressed hope that North Vietnam would come in, "just as soon as peaceful co-operation is possible," to join the larger development plan that he envisages for the region, may seem visionary in present circumstances. There are those who argue that south-east Asian instability and lack of common purpose make it unthinkable that there could ever be any such plan. But the hard fact of eight years' steadily evolving work on the Mekong programme is evidence to the contrary.

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Excerpts from March
1967 comments on

June 1967

THE NEW CONFIDENCE IN ASIA

made by William P. Bundy
Assistant U. S. Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

"Japan's economic success story is well-known; yet the magnitude of that success is not fully appreciated. With less than 100 million people, Japan (in 1966 produced) ... a gross national product roughly as large as that of the 700 million population of Communist China. Some economic forecasts indicate that by 1975 the figure may be two to one in Japan's favor, and within a short time Japan may be the third largest economic power in the world.

Nor has Japan been hesitant to share her prosperity with her Asian neighbors. Japan has committed one percent of her gross national product to their assistance and assumed a leading role in regional agricultural planning as well as in other multi-national organizations.

In South Korea one sees the beginning of what could become a smaller-scale but equally dramatic emulation of Japan's economic success. In 1964 and 1965 the Republic of Korea had a growth rate of more than eight percent' in 1966 the rate increased to 12 percent. The change in Korea-- after the tremendous devastation of the Korean War -- gives a basis for optimism about Vietnam after the end of the conflict there.

The Republic of China on Taiwan also enjoys a high sustained growth rate, averaging 10 percent over the past three years. In contrast, during the period 1958-1965, Communist China's growth rate averaged zero, and its gross national product actually may have declined,

In the Philippines, where President Marcos enjoys prestige which gives him greater opportunity for achievement than any Philippine president since Ramon Magsaysay, progress is being made in land reform, elimination of smuggling, and increasing agricultural productivity.

Singapore and Malaysia, next to Japan, enjoy the highest per-capita incomes in Asia. They are attempting to diversify their economies and at the same time create truly multi-national -- Malay, Chinese and Indian -- societies.

10 years, despite a problem with insurgency in its northeast -- an insurgency backed by Communist China and North Vietnam. The great majority of Thais, however, are loyal to their government and there is no reason to anticipate that this problem in Thailand will reach the level that it has in south Vietnam.

The change in Indonesia during the last 18 months must rank in significance with the "Cultural revolution" in communist China. Indonesia is the fifth most populous country in the world, and the most populous country in southeast Asia.

Two years ago, the portents were that by the end of 1966, Indonesia would be Communist. Instead, an ill-timed and poorly-executed Communist coup backfired and brought into being a strongly nationalist and non-communist government. That government now is concentrating on the chaotic economic situation that is the legacy of years of mismanagement. With the assistance of the U. S. and other helpful nations Indonesia, within a year or two, could see an increasing realization of her great economic potential.

The increasing growth of regional organizations and regional cooperation also has been of great importance. Among the more significant developments have been:

--The joining together of 19 Asian and Pacific nations, along the key European nations, in establishing the Asian Development Bank-- with more than two-thirds of the authorized capital of 1,000 million dollars coming from within the region.

--The convening in June 1966, in Seoul of the 10-nation Asian and Pacific council which, although primarily concerned with economic affairs, stated its full sympathy and support for the United States' stand in Vietnam.

--The Association of Southeast Asia, involving Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, which may be the nucleus of a new regional grouping in the areas of economics and culture.

--The Mekong Committee which, under the auspices of the United Nations Regional Commission, brings together Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam in the joint development of the Mekong River basin.

The growth of multi-national organizations has been accompanied by a diminution of long-standing national antipathies.

In December of 1965, Japan and the Republic of Korea concluded a treaty ending a long period of hostility between the two Asian neighbors and providing Japanese funds for Korean development. Similarly, the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia was terminated, with Thailand playing a helpful role"

MILITARY REVIEW
February 1967



SEATO REEXAMINED

Colonel Joe M. Palmer, *United States Army*

CPYRGHT

The views expressed in this article are the author's and are not necessarily those of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U. S. Army Command and General Staff College.—Editor.

ON 8 September 1954 the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty was signed at Manila by the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. The treaty, frequently referred to as the Manila Treaty, was subsequently ratified by each signatory and became fully operative in February 1955.

The area specifically covered by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is defined as southeast Asia, including the entire territories of the Asian parties and the general area of the southwest Pacific south of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, a boundary which excludes Hong Kong and Taiwan.

SEATO Objective

The objective of SEATO is to promote peace and security in the treaty area through mutual cooperation in the development of economic resources and through mutual defense against open armed attack or subversion. The United States made it clear at Manila that she was concerned primarily with Communist aggression, and a formal understanding to that effect was made a part of the treaty.

No other signatory made this distinction. On the contrary, Pakistan

let it be known that she was less exclusively concerned with the possibilities of Communist aggression. Rather, her interest in SEATO stemmed from a fear of aggression by India. Such different points of view on the basic objectives of the alliance have persisted and have contributed to the internal frictions with which SEATO has been plagued.

The alliance is an open-ended pact with specific provisions for the accession of other nations who may wish to join. To date, no additional countries have sought membership although there are some newly independent states in the treaty area who would likely be admitted upon request.

Of the many reasons which might be cited for this apparent lack of enthusiasm, two stand out as the most significant. First, the neutral nations, led by India, have tended to look upon SEATO as an instrument designed to project the tensions of the cold war into southeast Asia. Second, because Britain and France are SEATO mem-

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bers, there is the ever-present suspicion among the people of newly independent Asian states that SEATO, in some way, represents a return to colonialism.

These reasons have been reinforced by a noticeable reluctance on the part of many Asian nations to admit that communism poses a threat to their independence. Although the attacks on India by Communist China have assisted in dispelling this attitude to some degree, the reality and seriousness of the threat are still not accepted universally. Thus, it has not been possible to generate widespread public support for SEATO within the very area which it is pledged to defend. This lack of a broad base of membership and support from among the Asian states is a serious deficiency of the alliance.

The Protocol

Closely related to the problem of Asian membership is the relationship of SEATO to Laos, Cambodia, and the Republic of Vietnam. These three nations gained their independence from France as a result of the 1954 Geneva agreement which terminated the French-Vietminh war. Britain and France officially accepted the Geneva agreement, whereas the United States refused to do so. This demonstrated a divergency of views with respect to Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam which came to the fore at the Manila Conference some months later.

At Manila, the United States desired that SEATO membership be extended to the three southeast Asian nations. However, Britain and France considered such a step to be in violation of the Geneva agreement and, therefore, unacceptable to them as parties to that agreement. Yet they must have realized that a collective agreement for the defense of southeast Asia could hardly ignore the Indochina Peninsula which points like an arrow from mainland Asia toward the heart of the treaty area.

Compromise Solution

The strategic significance of the peninsula and the continuing nature of the Communist threat there were patently obvious. As a result, a compromise solution was agreed upon.

The three nations were not offered membership in SEATO, but a protocol was added to the Manila Treaty extending the benefits of the alliance, upon request, to Laos, Cambodia, and the free territory of Vietnam. These countries are frequently referred to within SEATO as the protocol states. This created a unique situation whereby the protocol states may request and receive the benefits of the treaty without any countervailing obligations.

However, since 1955, Cambodia has repeatedly disavowed any desire to be covered by the SEATO defensive umbrella. Laos has been highly inconsistent in this respect. In contrast to both of the foregoing, the Republic of Vietnam has never indicated any desire to forego her rights afforded by the protocol. In view of these factors, it is not surprising that the relationship of SEATO to the three protocol states has been subject to widely varying interpretation.

Unlike the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the member nations of SEATO have never earmarked any of their armed forces specifically for commitment within the treaty area nor has any permanent military command structure been created. Many SEATO analysts consider this lack of a visible military standing force to be a serious deficiency of the pact.

Since the real power of SEATO lies principally in the armed forces of the United States, the lack of a standing military force has raised serious doubts in the minds of many concerning the willingness of the United States to meet her commitments, when required, in the treaty area. The long-standing and well-publicized US reluctance to get bogged down in a land war in southeast Asia has also contributed to the persistence of this nagging and divisive suspicion.

US Policy

In 1954 at Manila, the United States took the position that, because of her worldwide commitments, she should not allocate specific forces to SEATO, but should maintain large mobile strike forces plus strategically placed reserves. Since 1954 the United States has consistently followed this policy.

Other steps have also been taken by the United States to allay the fears

of her Asian allies and to demonstrate the military potency of SEATO. US air, sea, and ground forces have participated throughout the treaty area in numerous exercises under combined commands. US forces have been committed to Thailand on a temporary basis in "show of force" or "stability" operations. The United States has actively participated in the development of SEATO military plans for countering various emergencies, and, finally, she has provided massive aid and committed large military forces to the defense of the Republic of Vietnam.

Despite all of these demonstrations of good faith, the United States has not succeeded in eliminating the lingering doubts as to her resolve to defend her Asian allies. As recently as February 1966, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was in Thailand attempting to convince the leaders of that nation that the United States was not seeking "peace at any price" in southeast Asia and that the US resolve to resist Communist aggression in the region was still as strong as ever.

Mainland southeast Asia, although one of the most strategically important areas encompassed by SEATO, is generally an undeveloped area. It is woefully short of facilities such as those which comprise the infrastructure of NATO. Since SEATO has no permanent standing military force, the security of the area is dependent on military forces which must be brought in from distant locations.

The shortage of adequate airfields, ports, and internal routes of communication is a major barrier to the rapid introduction, deployment, and continuous support of large troop units. Much has been done to overcome some of these deficiencies, especially in Vietnam where the need is immediate and to a lesser degree in Thailand. Still, the problem has not been resolved, and it continues to be a serious obstacle in SEATO's defensive planning.

SEATO's most significant internal problems have stemmed from the heterogeneity of its membership. Major differences in size, power potential,

economic development, geographical location, ethnic origin, type of government, domestic policies, and international interests exist within SEATO, and each has contributed to the friction within the alliance. All member nations still subscribe theoretically to the fundamental objective of the treaty—that is, to combat aggression and subversion in the treaty area.

Negative Positions

Beyond this point, little unanimity of opinion can be found. The United States and Pakistan have not agreed since the autumn of 1962 on the subject of US aid to India, just as India has disagreed with the United States over US aid to Pakistan. Thailand, in 1962, boycotted SEATO meetings for a month as a result of what she considered US favoritism to Cambodia in a Thai-Cambodian border dispute.

Moreover, Britain and the Philippines took opposite positions on the proposal to create the Federation of Malaysia. Some member nations have extended diplomatic recognition to Communist China, trade with her, and have voted to seat her in the United Nations. The United States has taken none of these steps and has publicly discouraged her allies' actions. France has ceased to participate actively in SEATO affairs, as a means of dramatizing her disapproval of US policy in Vietnam, although she still retains her formal membership in the alliance.

Yet all has not been on the negative side of the ledger. The alliance must be credited with some notable successes. It has been instrumental in limiting the spread of communism within the treaty area. Although no SEATO military force has ever taken the field in a direct confrontation with the Communist forces, the military power potential of the alliance has proved to be a major obstacle to Communist expansion in Asia. As long as SEATO exists, the threat of invoking its assistance against Communist aggression strengthens, to some degree, the governments of all the independent states in the treaty area whether they be members or nonmembers.

The Communists have recognized this challenge which SEATO presents

to their plans for aggression and have persistently attempted to undermine the solidarity and effectiveness of the alliance. This is, perhaps, the best possible evidence that SEATO has achieved some measure of success.

Geographic Buffer

SEATO must be given much of the credit for preventing a complete Communist "takeover" in two of the protocol states—Laos and Cambodia. To be sure, present conditions there are not optimum, but are far short of the disaster which might have occurred.

Laos and Cambodia have been officially "neutralized" with the former tending to align herself unofficially with the non-Communist nations and the latter seeking a balance between East and West. Thus, the actions of one tend to offset those of the other with the result that a reasonably effective geographic buffer exists between Thailand and the fighting in Vietnam.

Had the Communists successfully gained control of both Laos and Cambodia, the current battlefield in south-east Asia would probably include not only Vietnam, but Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand as well. It was, therefore, critical to SEATO that the Communists be denied political and military control of the two countries.

Major differences of opinion between the United States, Britain, and France prevented SEATO from taking concerted military action when the crisis in Laos was at its worst. However, by conducting timely show of force operations in Thailand and by bringing diplomatic pressure to bear, the alliance did successfully prevent Communist control of Laos.

SEATO also recognizes the significance of economic progress and social well-being as potent weapons in the fight against communism. Numerous cooperative measures in the economic, social, and cultural fields have been undertaken. These programs are long range and continuing in nature, but have produced tangible results. Eventually, they seek to bring about a marked improvement in the standard of living of the people in the Asian member states. When this goal is attained, the opportunity for Communist

subversion will have been greatly reduced.

Vietnam

SEATO has faced crises and challenges of varying importance in the past, but none has been as significant as that posed by events in Vietnam. Strategically, Vietnam is vital to the alliance; she is one of the three protocol states to which the Manila Treaty guarantees protection from Communist aggression. It would appear that SEATO has a clearly defined legal right and a moral obligation to intervene openly and officially on behalf of South Vietnam. Yet it has not done so, and the possible reasons for this failure to act should be examined.

Great Britain, France, and Pakistan are the SEATO members who have not sent at least token military forces to Vietnam to reinforce US efforts there. The reasons for British and French failure to do so involve many factors, including other commitments on the part of Britain and outright opposition to US policy on the part of France. But it is reasonable to assume that their attitudes stem at least partly from differences with the United States on the nature of the alliance itself.

Areas of Disagreement

Based on their interpretation of the 1954 Geneva agreement and the Manila Treaty, Britain and France apparently share the view that SEATO can legally intervene in the protocol states only in the event of overt Chinese aggression. Since there is no overt Chinese aggression in Vietnam, it would follow that SEATO has no legal basis upon which to take action there. The United States has taken an opposite point of view. She has interpreted the Manila Treaty as requiring member nations to take positive action to assist the Republic of Vietnam in her fight for survival.

A second point of difference also relates to the 1954 Geneva agreement. It has been argued that the agreement did not envision a permanently divided Vietnam and that the Saigon Government, having refused to hold elections as specified, has no legal basis for its continued existence. The

United States does not subscribe to this argument and, as a major advocate of the right of self-determination for all people, has long recognized and supported a separate and independent Republic of Vietnam.

A third area of disagreement concerns the origin and nature of the conflict itself. Within the United States, and internationally as well, there is a difference of opinion as to whether the fighting in Vietnam is an indigenous revolution with Communist support or whether it is, in fact, another case of Communist aggression. The United States has officially identified it as the latter.

Whether the United States, British, and French differences with regard to the protocol states stem from these or other points, the facts are that this difference of opinion does exist, that it precluded concerted SEATO military action against the Communist forces in Laos, and now has prevented similar action in Vietnam. Clearly, so long as this lack of unity between the three major members persists, there is no chance for corporate military action by SEATO in the protocol states.

The sum of SEATO efforts in Vietnam, excluding the essentially unilateral US commitment, can hardly be

characterized as a concerted attempt to defeat Communist aggression. In fact, SEATO's principal contribution to the conflict has been to provide the United States with a diplomatic rationale for taking military action.

Thus, regardless of the outcome of current military operations, Vietnam represents a major failure of SEATO. Disunity within the alliance has made it impotent in the face of a major Communist threat, thus destroying its credibility as a deterrent force. This raises grave doubts as to the future value of the pact, its prior successes notwithstanding. Yet some form of an anti-Communist security arrangement will continue to be needed in southeast Asia as a counterbalance to Communist China's power.

There are three alternative means of achieving this end: a restructured SEATO, a new Asian alliance, or total dependence on US bilateral defense pacts.

The revisions required to convert SEATO into a more effective alliance are apparent from its weaknesses. In essence, the purpose and character of the alliance must be radically altered. It must assume greater responsibilities and must be made more acceptable to the free nations of Asia.

Fact Sheet

~~For Background Use Only~~
September 1964

The Chinese Communist View of Soviet Aid

In 1964 Moscow and Peking engaged in a vituperative debate over aid to developing countries. In this debate the Chinese Communists sharply questioned the motivation of the USSR, most strikingly by enunciating "Eight Principles" of Chinese aid which, according to Chou En-lai during his trip to Africa and Asia in early 1964, governed China's economic and technical assistance program. The "Eight Principles," as gisted from PEKING REVIEW, May 1, 1964, contend that Chinese aid:

- 1) is based on "the principle of equality and mutual benefit" and is never regarded as "a kind of unilateral alms,"
- 2) "strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges,"
- 3) is granted "in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans... to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible,"
- 4) intends not to make recipients dependent on China "but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development,"
- 5) is directed toward projects "which require less investment while yielding quicker results" so that recipients may "increase their income and accumulate capital,"
- 6) guarantees "the best quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices,"
- 7) "sees to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master techniques," and
- 8) forbids Chinese experts to make "any special demands or enjoy any special amenities" but demands they have "the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country."

Recognizing Chou's intent in his statements about foreign aid, the USSR Government newspaper IZVESTIYA on 12 July 1964 rebuked the Chinese effort to "defame, blacken and slander" Soviet foreign aid. The Soviet paper alleged that China's "Eight Principles serve one 'unseemly' aim -- 'that of discrediting the disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries to young national states.'"

Perhaps most galling to the IZVESTIYA writer was Chou's slap at the USSR in these words:

"Our mutual help is the kind that exists between friends who are poor and face similar problems, and is not 'aid' that is used by strong, big powers to bully the weak and small. Our mutual help is at present small in scale, yet is reliable, practical, and conducive to the independent development of the countries concerned...."

~~Top Secret~~
June 1967

Preliminary Assessment of the Military Equipment and
Training Provided to the Arabs by the USSR

Military aid supplied by the USSR during the past decade to the UAR and other Arab countries will remain under study for some time to come. At the present time, as a result of the voluminous press coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict, there has come to light sufficient information on the amount of aid, the quality of Soviet equipment, and the effectiveness of doctrinal and tactical training to permit a preliminary assessment of such aid.

Amount

According to Hanson Baldwin, military commentator of the NEW YORK TIMES (June 6, 1967) the UAR had received from the USSR about 1,200 tanks and self-propelled guns, about 500 aircraft (including 50 MIG-21's), 9 former Soviet submarines and boats equipped with winged guided missiles, and an unknown number of surface-to-air (SAM) missile sites and radar-controlled 85-mm antiaircraft guns to defend its airfields. The value of Soviet military aid is indicated by James Reston, who stated in the NYT of 10 June that the UAR owes the Soviet Government \$1 billion to \$2 billion for military equipment. According to Baldwin, Syria had received about 400 tanks and self-propelled guns and about 150 aircraft from the USSR. Other sources, including NEWSWEEK and U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, refer to similar amounts of Soviet Aid in their articles. A detailed listing of tanks, aircraft, and naval vessels, with breakdowns by type, is given in the London publication FORUM WORLD FEATURES (FACTS TO FILE) of May 27, 1967.

Quality and Effectiveness

Although military commentators usually term Soviet military equipment good, some of them are raising serious questions about the suitability of such equipment for Middle Eastern conditions. For example it has been widely publicized that the Israelis modified their old World War II tanks by widening the tracks, raising the suspension, and increasing the fire-power by replacing the 90-mm guns with 105-mm guns. There is no indication that the Soviets made extensive modifications of their all-climate tanks in order to adapt them for desert warfare.

Analogous information tends to bear out the possibility that the Soviets were negligent in this regard. For example, a recent article from Informations d'Outre-Mer (Paris, May 24, 1967) states:

"The motors with which the Soviet trucks of the Algerian Army are equipped are too fragile and consume too much fuel; moreover, it is difficult to use them in the Sahara. For this reason, they will be replaced by Perkins diesel motors of British manufacture for which an important order is to be placed."

Earlier, the Egyptians, when building the Aswan High Dam, found they had to replace large amounts of Soviet construction equipment (including caterpillar-type tractors) with British and American equipment. Furthermore, there have been persistent reports that the Soviets have sent tractors and trucks to equatorial Africa with elaborate enclosures and heating facilities for the cabs.

The age of the tanks supplied by the USSR is considered by some to have been a factor of possible significance in the poor performance of the UAR's tanks. About half of them were Soviet World War II models, and thus manufactured between 1942 and 1947. Considering the Soviets' generally poor record on the maintenance of all kinds of equipment, and the fact that the maintenance manuals for Soviet tanks were in English, it is not hard to understand that the Arabs would find it difficult to keep the tanks in operating condition.

The matter of inadequate Soviet instruction in the use of equipment may have been a major factor in the inability of the Arabs to use the Soviet equipment effectively. Publication of the manuals in English, a language foreign to Russian instructors and Arab trainees alike, undoubtedly resulted in inadequate understanding. This is illustrated by the Soviet SAM which was captured on the Sinai. Besides instructions in Russian, the missiles had written on them in English, these words: "By operating with plunger the drive should be engaged to reduction gear. It is not allowed to operate with plunger at accelerated gear." Would any two people interpret these instructions the same way? Not only were the manuals unclear, but frequently they were non-existent. Often the equipment had to be repacked and kept in crates for months while the Arabs awaited the arrival of the manuals.

Doctrinal and Tactical Training

Very likely, the Soviets' military training of the Arabs will be found upon investigation to have been woefully inadequate and even misleading. By virtue of the differences in terrain between the USSR and the Middle East, the Soviet instructors probably had an inadequate grasp of desert warfare. But the Soviets' major short-comings probably arose from a tendency to refer to their own military experience when instructing the Arabs.

For example, the Egyptians dug pits for their T-54 Soviet tanks and were using them as stationary artillery to cover the town of Gaza in the early stages of the conflict. Later, in the Sinai, the UAR troops again dug their tanks in in a vain effort to protect them against air bombardment. This tactic deprived the UAR tanks of mobility, the cardinal principle of tank warfare, while the Israeli tanks could freely maneuver. This tactic is similar to that used by Soviet tank forces in World War II, as shown in Soviet films of the war. It is possible that the Soviet training officers prepared the Arab military for today's war by teaching them the successful tactics of yesterday's war.

Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the conduct of the UAR military effort reflected Soviet tactical doctrine, which necessitates central

direction. This doctrine is considered ineffective against any foe which relies on the use of initiative. Moreover, the UAR's situation may have been aggravated by communications which were inadequate to the desert conditions.

A major oversight in the Soviets' preparation of the UAR may have been in the arrangement of the radar network. Soviet tactics in antiaircraft warfare are focused -- almost exclusively -- on defense against assaults over land approaches. This may explain the disastrous gap which the UAR left in its radar defense against an air assault from the direction of the Mediterranean.

June 1967

Soviet Trade and Aid

In 1954 the USSR launched a trade and aid program in the developing countries* with the announced or evident intention of providing material needed for its own economy, expanding and increasing its influence world-wide, and reducing non-Communist influence in the developing countries. While the USSR's program embraces some 45 countries, it has concentrated on Asia and the Middle East, and about two thirds of its exports to developing countries have gone to India, the UAR, Indonesia, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Communist countries, in gaining access to the markets of the developing countries, have used a classic commercial approach. They offered goods at lower prices and on more favorable terms (deferment of first payment; more years to pay; low interest rates). They offered to trade industrial products for what would otherwise be surplus raw materials unsalable at an acceptable price in Western markets. Furthermore, the Soviets dangled industrialization and economic independence in front of the leaders of the developing countries.

Through 1966 the total amount of Communist credits and grants to developing countries was about \$9 billion, of which the USSR accounted for roughly four fifths. However, only about \$3 billion, or one third, of the total amount has been put into effect; the balance remains to be drawn. This large discrepancy actually between offers and drawings results mainly from typically prolonged construction schedules on foreign aid projects.

The composition of the USSR's trade with developing countries is similar to that of other industrialized (or, in Soviet terms, "imperialist") countries.- even if the intent differs. About 85% of its imports are comprised of raw materials and food. The USSR's shipments of machinery and equipment and manufactured goods have made up about two-thirds of its exports to developing countries.

The military part of the Soviet program is much less publicized in the recipient countries than is economic aid. Nevertheless, the monetary value of military aid actually rendered is 1½ to 2 times as much as the economic aid. The emphasis on military aid to certain countries is much more pronounced; for example, in the UAR military aid had amounted to almost 3 times as much as economic aid, and in Syria to more than 4 times as much. Almost half of the Communist military aid is provided to developing countries as outright grants or with discounts from the list price of the military hardware.

*Developing countries (also called less developed, underdeveloped or emerging countries) include: All African countries except the Republic of South Africa; all Asian countries except Japan; most Latin American countries; Middle Eastern countries, including Cyprus, Greece, Syria, Turkey and the UAR. Designation as a developing country is based on a number of factors, including: personal consumption per capita; per capita national product (gross national product, national income); share of labor force in agriculture.

Benefits to the USSR: The Kremlin's continued expansion since 1964 of aid agreements with developing countries clearly indicates that the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime views the trade and aid program as a satisfactory means of obtaining raw materials and foodstuff useful to the Soviet economy and, more significantly, of pursuing Soviet foreign policy objectives. Using economic means, the Soviet leaders evidently hope to continue to exploit the USSR's recently acquired or increased presence in the developing countries by:

- propagandizing its contributions of technology, skilled manpower, and materials;
- gaining influence over economic planning and administration;
- working to introduce Soviet methods and ideas to replace Western-inspired traditions;
- increasing the developing countries' dependence on the USSR for credit, new machinery and equipment, spare parts, and technicians to operate new plants.

Through military aid the Soviet leaders will undoubtedly continue to try to enhance the USSR's position as a supplier of arms and a trainer of the armed forces of developing countries. The lure of low Soviet prices and quick delivery of military equipment is often irresistible. The acceptance of weapons results in the need to send trainees to the USSR and to receive military instructors from the USSR; furthermore, ammunition and spare parts need to be supplied on a continuing basis. Thus, the acceptance of Soviet military aid is often a first step towards dependence on the USSR.

The Soviet leaders have varied their approach to target countries. To gain a foothold in some countries (Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Yemen) military aid was offered first. More frequently, however, the initial agreement with a developing country is based on economic assistance. The use of either approach has often been followed by the other, as indicated by the fact that about half the developing countries receiving economic aid from the USSR also receive military aid. In combination, economic and military aid is a potent tool to increase the dependence of a developing country on the USSR and other Bloc countries.

The ultimate benefits the USSR hopes to derive from its aid program are political. Support for Soviet policies in the UN by developing countries, for example, has risen sharply since the launching of the Soviets' aid program in the mid-50's. More important, the Soviets have thereby acquired greater contact and communication with leaders of the developing countries and have also built up their influence with large numbers of potential leaders who are now middle-rung officials or military officers.

Drawbacks for the USSR: Although the trade and aid program has so far absorbed only a very small share (according to one estimate .1%) of the Soviet economy's gross national product, it will require increasingly advanced industrial and military equipment during the next several years. Thus, instead of involving industrial equipment that is generally obsolescent or surplus to the USSR's needs, the Soviet export program will have to compete with domestic industrial programs for the relatively scarce technologically-advanced equipment produced by the USSR. Similarly, future shipments of military hardware will consist far less of surplus or discarded goods and more of the equipment being currently manufactured for the Soviet armed forces.

A far more threatening drawback of the program, from the Kremlin's standpoint, is the possible adverse affect of unsatisfactory performance of Soviet aid commitments. On the economic side, the Soviets' record is spotty and is marred by long delays in carrying out construction projects, the poor quality of industrial equipment and consumer goods, failure to supply enough spare parts of the needed sorts, and the glaring errors in the planning of industrial development. The quality of Soviet military aid, for many years unassessed, now appears to be deficient to some extent with respect to equipment and to be woefully low with respect to training in military tactics, use of weapons, and maintenance of equipment. (See attachment for details).

On balance, the Soviet leaders probably view their trade and aid program as a commitment they couldn't avoid even if its costs should begin to outweigh the foreseeable benefits. For a withdrawal in the face of adverse developments would compound their problem.

Attractiveness to developing countries: Soviet offers of trade and aid are hard for leaders of developing countries to resist. The kind of goods offered--industrial and transport equipment, industrial materials such as steel and petroleum--in exchange for surplus raw material and food which can't be absorbed in Free World markets, appears to represent a clear-cut gain for the developing countries. The deferment of initial payments and the stretch-out of the repayment of credits at 2½ percent interest has added to the attractiveness of Soviet aid offers, especially prior to 1966. Furthermore, Soviet prices usually seem to be low. Finally, Soviet aid seems to offer leaders of developing countries a means of countering the economic influence of their traditional trading partners (usually the former colonial power).

Military aid is usually even more attractively presented than economic aid. Very little, if any, down payment is demanded. The price of the equipment is reduced by almost half by means of discounts and outright grants. The equipment can usually be shipped soon after ordered because of the large portion of Soviet merchant ships specializing almost exclusively in arms shipments. Finally, comprehensive instruction is offered in the use of the military equipment, and in military doctrine. Thus, leaders of developing countries have painted for them a picture of rapid development of a powerful military force with modern weapons and led by well-trained officers.

Detractions of Soviet aid: Soviet performance has tarnished the apparent attractiveness of Soviet economic aid. First, the quality of Soviet goods usually does not meet what the Soviets term "world standards." This is particularly true of machinery and equipment used in production lines. The machinery itself is usually outmoded, and thus the products of the machinery are also outmoded and cannot be sold at world market prices. Second, the real cost of Soviet goods is nowhere near as low as the price tags indicate, when the poor quality is taken into account. Furthermore, Soviet-built plants are more expensive than their estimated cost because of the added expenses* incurred by the exceptionally long duration of construction. (See below). Third, the reliability of the USSR is open to serious question. As a trading partner the USSR has not been dependable, in that it has attached post-agreement political conditions to its aid (in spite of pretenses to the contrary) and in that it has not been able to sustain its deliveries of commodities (for example, Soviet wheat was not available in the amount required by developing countries after the poor Soviet harvests of 1963 and 1965). The USSR, faced with budget problems at home, has trimmed some of the attractive features of its aid program; for example, in 1966 the Kremlin extended almost a billion dollars in aid, over 40% of which was in the form of commercial credits. The significance of this lies in the change from state credits (12 years at 2½% interest) to commercial credits (5 to 10 years at up to 4% interest). At the same time the Soviets increased their requirements of hard currency for down payments. Developing countries have also mistakenly relied on Soviet economic advice and, as a result, have committed themselves to courses of industrial development not in keeping with their own economic realities. The Soviets seem to have recognized their mistakes in this regard, inasmuch as they now subject new projects to protracted scrutiny before approving them; yet the Soviets still give no indication that they grasp the proven methods for establishing economic feasibility of industrial programs.

Some of the most serious deficiencies in the Kremlin's aid program show up in the performance and quality of industrial construction projects. The time actually required for construction has exceeded the contracted duration by an average of more than a third, and has in some cases stretched out to double the contracted duration. Furthermore, Soviet aid projects have taken much longer than comparable U.S. aid projects. For example: a Soviet aid fertilizer plant in Indonesia took 3 years longer than a U.S. aid project of the same kind in the same country; a Soviet aid oil refinery in India took 40 months to build, or 26 months longer than the construction of an oil refinery of almost the same capacity built under the U.S. aid program in South Korea. The poor quality of Soviet construction has been transmitted to developing countries through the aid program; this is largely attributable to inferior designs of the structures and inept supervision of construction. Equally serious is the general backwardness of the industrial facilities the Soviets have provided. For example, the Soviets admit to themselves that their pharmaceutical industry lags far behind that industry in the West, yet the Soviets are building pharmaceutical

*The cost of Soviet "experts" sometimes amounts to up to a quarter of aid spending on a project.

plants for developing countries under their aid program. Similarly, Soviet fish canneries are obsolete by Western standards; still, the Soviets are sponsoring the construction of such plants under their aid program.

Parenthetically, it should be borne in mind that showcase Soviet aid projects are of high quality. For example, the Aswan High Dam on the Nile is a credit to Soviet engineering, even though the Egyptians found they had to replace Soviet heavy construction equipment with British and U.S. equipment. Also, the Bhilai steel mill in India is one of the most modern in the world, so modern in fact that at the time of its construction the Bhilai plant had the very best of Soviet equipment, such as no single Soviet plant could equal. The use of such modern equipment at Bhilai appears extravagant, however, when it is considered that it cost more and took almost twice as long to build Bhilai with a capacity of 1 million tons as the expansion of India's privately owned Tata steel mill with a capacity increase of up to 2 million tons.

Until recently, Soviet military aid has been held in high regard by most developing countries. Such a regard is considerably clouded, however, by preliminary assessments of the value of such aid to the UAR recently. The Soviet-supplied equipment was not effective. For example, almost half of the UAR's tanks were manufactured in the USSR between the middle of World War II and 1947. There is no indication that the Soviets modified the tanks adequately for the particular rigors of desert warfare. The Soviet-supplied radar and anti-aircraft weapons, including expensive surface-to-air missiles (SAM's), failed to prevent the Israeli air force from making devastating attacks. Also ineffective, apparently, was the Soviets' training of UAR officers in military doctrine and tactics. It is reported, for example, that UAR tanks were dug in and used as stationary artillery; this violates the cardinal principle of modern armored warfare that mobility should be maximized. This tactic used by the UAR's armored units is identical to the one used by Soviet forces in World War II, as portrayed in Soviet films of the war. It is thus indicated that Soviet training officers may have tried to prepare the Arab military for today's war by teaching them the successful tactics of yesterday's war.

Some conclusions concerning Soviet aid: On the economic aid side, it is clear that leaders of the developing countries were mistaken when they expected Soviet aid to benefit them substantially. In the final analysis, the economic balance sheet may even show that the developing countries have had to pay a high price in terms of their own products and hard currency in exchange for goods and plants which they can't employ effectively. On the military aid side it may dawn on these same leaders (as it undoubtedly occurred to the UAR's Nassar) that the net result of Soviet aid has been their own false sense of confidence.

Prensa Latina, Havana
23 February 1967

June 1967

LASO Solidarity Conference Agenda

The draft agenda for the first solidarity conference of the Latin American countries, which will be held in Havana from 28 July to 5 August this year, has been made public. The text of the draft agenda follows:

1--The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in Latin America.

A. Experiences of the several forms of revolutionary struggle; armed insurrection in the national liberation process for Latin America.

B. Consideration of the specific struggles of the working class, the peasantry, the students, the intellectuals, and the rest of the progressive sectors in relation to the national liberation process.

C. Eradication of all forms of colonialism in Latin America.

2--Common position and action against imperialism's political-military intervention and economic and ideological penetration in Latin America.

A. The political-military intervention of Yankee imperialism in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries; the imperialist policy of repressive coordination against the liberation movements: the OAS, the inter-American peace force, the Central American Defense Board, the bases, missions, and other military pacts.

B. The imperialist economic policy of submission and exploitation of the Latin American countries; its control mechanism; financial resources and foreign trade.

C. The imperialist policy of ideological penetration on the socio-cultural level as part of its continental strategy; the struggle against all forms of discrimination in Latin America.

D. The policy of reform as a means to lessen social conflicts and deflect the peoples from their true path; economic and political independence.

E. The oligarchic and coupist policy of open aggression against the national liberation movements and for the preservation of exploitation of the Latin American peoples.

F. The need to achieve a common strategy for all the Latin American revolutionary movements in order to defeat continental strategy, which imperialism has drawn up in its determination to maintain domination over the Latin American peoples.

3--The solidarity of the Latin American peoples with the national liberation struggles.

- A. Anti-imperialist solidarity in Latin America.
- B. The most effective aid for the peoples who are waging the armed struggle against imperialism and colonialism.
- C. Support for the Negro people of the United States in their struggle against racial segregation and for their rights to equality and freedom.
- D. Defense of the Cuban revolution: struggle against the economic blockade, isolation, and other forms of Yankee imperialist aggression against the Cuban revolution.

4--Statutes of the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

- A. The organizing committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization is made up of:

Cuba: Haydee SANTAMARIA Cuadrado, delegate.

Brazil: Aluisio PALLANO, delegate.

Colombia: Manuel CEPEDA Vargas, delegate.

Guatemala: Oscar Edmundo PALMA and Francisco MARROQUIN, delegates.

Guyana: Lial BAHADAR, delegate.

Peru: Jesus MAZA, delegate.

Venezuela: Silvia MORENO, delegate.

- B. The national committees will be made up in each Latin American country by the revolutionary organizations which meet the following requirements:

1. Anti-imperialist.
2. Unitarian.
3. Representative.
4. Accept the resolutions of the First Tri-Continental Conference.
5. Accept the bases or principles of the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

Prensa Latina

Havana, 4 March--An exhaustive anti-imperialist sociological survey is being conducted in 27 Latin American countries by the national committees participating in the First Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) conference. Jesus Maza Peruvian representative to LASO told the Cuban press: "Above all, the questionnaire aims to ascertain the degree of awareness of the people's liberation struggle against imperialist domination." He added that the questionnaire deals with six fundamental points and has been sent to outstanding figures, historians, researchers, sociologists, and progressive organizations on the American Continent.

About 1,000 persons are working in Cuba on this survey with the participation of organizations and institutes of the Revolutionary Government and under the guidance of the Communist Party. Maza added that this LASO project is directed toward finding out the real situation in each country and measuring the extent of enemy infiltration of Latin American society. He said that the data produced by this survey will contribute valuably to the first LASO conference "because there we will pool all experiences of the revolutionary struggle within the American Continent."

(Excerpts from)

LASO Questionnaire

I. Questions in the Political and Social field

A. Political system and imperialist penetration: composition of the government, from the viewpoint of the class situation and class ties of its members, as determined by listing members of the following organizations: Presidency of the Republic, Cabinet or council of Ministers, Legislative power or body (not including the local legislators, where any exist), and governors of state, province or department.

Place these members in one of the following categories: land owners, farmer (large, medium, or small), farm worker, businessman (importer or exporter, large, medium or small), industrialist (large, medium or small), income receiver, banker, professional man, attorney (of national or foreign enterprises, large, medium or small), labor union leader, worker, military (officer, non-commissioned officer, soldier), public employee, housewife, and clergyman.

Is there security for the exercise of universal and direct suffrage and if they exist, for what position? What percent of the population represents those excluded from the exercise of suffrage? To what social strata do they belong and what are the causes of their exclusion?

How many women's organizations exist, what is their composition, international affiliation and what are the tasks they develop?

Which are the strata of the bourgeoisie whose specific interests are harmed by imperialist penetration and to which activities of production do these strata belong? In the national economy what is the comparative importance of the independent entrepreneurs not associated with imperialism?

How do the armed forces and other repressive instruments operate within the bodies of state power and in relation to the political-social process of the country?

Border conflicts: Countries and Regions. Origins. Do such conflicts arise from given national interests? How do the imperialist nations, and especially the United States, participate in such conflicts?

B. Class Organization

Which are the dividing factors of the labor union movement and how do they operate?

Which organized sectors of the labor class have won the right, both to participate effectively in national policy, and to free expression regarding the events of a continental or world order?

What social victories has the organized labor class won?

How have strikes developed as an instrument of struggle during the past 10 years? Has the organized labor movement carried out work stoppages of a political nature? Were these stoppages done with demands of interest for the class or out of solidarity with student and professional sectors?

Are there any peasant organizations and what is their nature?

Do the peasants, under law, enjoy the same rights as the urban working class, or no rights?

How much have peasant women participated and do they participate in the people's and national liberation struggles?

How are the student movements repressed?

Which are the class organizations of a national character which comprise the native industrial bourgeoisie?

C. Native Population

What is its economic and cultural importance?

Is it the target of special forms of discrimination and exploitation?

D. Agrarian Structure

What is the relationship between the social castes and the holding of the land?

What class interests are represented by agrarian legislation and whom do they favor?

How much land has been expropriated from the large land holders, individuals or enterprises, national or foreign?

II. Social Problems

What is the status of women?

Does political imprisonment exist? Are political prisoners tortured?

What is the extent of juvenile delinquency?

What is the index of prostitution, alcoholism, gambling and other vices and similar phenomena resulting from the social structure?

How and to what degree is begging manifest? Are children used to beg?

To what extent are scientific methods applied to intensify the exploitation of human labor? What are the effects of such methods as to physical and moral degradation of the worker?

How is the child labor exploited?

III. Migration and Tourism

Is there heavy migration from the countryside to the city? What is the reason? What are its economic and social effects?

To what extent does income from tourism, by its volume, constitute an indirect factor of imperialist political pressure?

IV. The Churches

Which churches with headquarters in the United States have influence in the country?

What is the amount of state subsidies which the churches receive?

Which societies, associations, establishments, enterprises, foundations, etc. have relations, are subordinate to, or are controlled by the churches?

Havana, Cuba
2 June 1967

WHAT IS LASO?

The anti-imperialist delegations of the 27 Latin American nations attending the First Tricontinental Conference founded, on 16 January 1966, in Havana, Cuba, the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). Its aims, according to the constitution of the organization, are to unite, coordinate, and give impetus to the struggle against North American imperialism by all the exploited peoples of Latin America.

AALAPSO--the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization--was created by the First Tricontinental Conference, while LASO was created by a special and exclusive meeting of the Latin American delegations participating in its debates. They are two distinct organizations, utterly independent of each other. There is no organic or functional subordination between them. Even though they were born almost at the same time and place and established headquarters in the same country, they could have been born on distinct occasions and places, and could have established distinct headquarters.

The international climate created by American imperialism's global strategy as well as that of other colonialist powers for the forceful domination of all the underdeveloped nations of the world, and the need of the underdeveloped, colonialized, and dependent nations to help each other effectively, to coordinate their efforts in the national liberation struggle, to shore up the liberated nations, and to give a united reply to imperialist aggression and to defeat its aims, made the creation of the two organizations necessary and possible. AALAPSO aims to unite, coordinate, and press forward the struggle against colonialism and imperialism in the sphere of three continents; LASO, in the sphere of a single continent--Latin America. Hence, relations between the two are those of fraternal support and cooperation.

On 16 January an organizing committee was designated including Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Guyana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Its basic tasks are the orientation of the work of the new organization in cooperation with the national committees of each nation and the organization of the first Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference.

The internal structure of the organizing committee is not based on permanent secretariats but rather on work groups whose life is only as long as necessary to complete assigned tasks; once completed, new groups are immediately staffed to implement new tasks. Only the General Secretariat, a post filled by the representative of the Cuban national committee, Haydee Santamaria, and the work group for the LASO bulletin, are permanent. The organizing committee holds weekly meetings to approve, disapprove, or amend what is resolved by the work groups. Unanimous resolution is the ever present aim, but if unanimity is impossible, a resolution may pass with a two-thirds majority. So far, however, it has not been necessary to apply this rule for substantive resolutions.

Among many other tasks, the organizing committee has accomplished the following: Early this year it revised the makeup of the national committees of the large majority of nations that comprise the organization, and consulted with them on the date of the conference, the criteria to be followed in constituting and revamping the national committees, agenda topics, and other proposals that they could make. On this basis, the month of July 1967 was selected as the date for the first Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference. The draft agenda and rules for the conference have already been prepared.

The organizing committee has promoted research on the economic, social, political, and cultural realities in the countries of the continent, a research which must be done by the national committees, within the limits of their potential, with the objective of contributing sufficient information to the conference for evaluation. The national committees represent the most active anti-imperialist sectors with the deepest roots among the people in each of the Latin American countries. They consist of one or more truly anti-imperialist, representative, unitarian organizations accepting the general declaration of the First Tricontinental Conference and the bases on which LASO was formed. The starting point for the formation of each national committee was established by the international preparatory committee of the First Tricontinental Conference. This in principle is the way the national committee of any one country is formed by the organizations that were invited to participate in it. However, some important organizations were not invited to the First Tricontinental Conference, and perhaps some others which did not meet entry requirements were invited. It also happens that some political forces which were taken into account have disappeared and others may go the same route. Some organizations--and there may be more in the future--merged, and new anti-imperialist movements with popular support have risen. These realities have determined the dynamic character of the composition of the national committees. No organization may belong in perpetuity to the national committee if it loses the qualities which made possible its admission. On the other hand, organizations acquiring those qualities must be admitted. The national committees must always represent the most active anti-imperialist sectors, and those with the most profound and extensive roots among the people in each of the Latin American countries.

The dynamic character of the national committees is also a characteristic of LASO and is its contribution to the international revolutionary institutions. The first review of the national committees was carried out in accordance with this basic criterion. Today their composition is determined by the results of that work and no longer only by the decisions of the international preparatory committee of the First Tricontinental Conference. Every anti-imperialist organization aspiring to become part of the national committee of its country presents entry applications simultaneously to the pertinent national committee and to the LASO organizing committee. In its application it indicates that it fulfills the requirements for admission. Once it is received, the national committee sends its favorable or unfavorable decision, based on confirmation of entry requirements, to the organizing committee. If the favorable decision on the new applicant is unanimous, the organizing committee, after also confirming the fulfillment of entry requirements, recognizes the integration of the new organization into the national committee. If there is an objection, it makes a decision by itself. In like manner, this procedure is followed when an organization is expelled which has lost the necessary qualities for belonging to a national committee. This request must come from the organizations making up the national committee or from the organizing committee itself.

National committees consist basically of anti-imperialist political organizations since they are organizations which perform, and will perform, political functions. However, in certain cases, mass organizations may belong to them when, in addition to fulfilling entry requirements, they bring in essential sectors of the population, contribute toward attracting new political forces to the national committee, and help to develop and consolidate the unifying work of the organizations that make it up.

The fact that basically political organizations make up the national committees does not mean any restrictions on their work. When they hold meetings, demonstrations, conferences, roundtables, when they publish something, and so forth, they act in the same manner as any regular political organization. They take advantage of the influence each of them has in mass organizations to promote their work. Campaigns of solidarity are convoked directly by the national committee, separately by each of

the organizations in it, or by mass organization in which they have influence. Likewise, they create committees of solidarity or other forms of organization to achieve their objectives, all in accordance with the existing situation of the anti-imperialist organizations in each country.

The difference between the national committee and the organizations through which it performs its work is the same as that between the political organizations and the mass organizations. Organizationally the national committee is also flexible. It functions, whenever possible, on the basis of periodic meetings of the delegates of the various organizations which make it up, but also when the situation of clandestineness or repression prevents organic functioning, it functions on the basis of contacts or liaison with the member organizations.

The agreement on the foundation of LASO was adopted by the national committees of the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, French Guiana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Trinidad-Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Surinam joined later. LASO and the national committees that make it up carry out, and must carry out in the future, an intensive campaign for the unity of anti-imperialist movements in each of our countries. They must prevent sectarianism from causing the havoc that is known in Latin America and the proliferation of division among anti-imperialist organizations.

With their practical activity they must instill the conviction that only the most determined unity will make the anti-imperialist movement in each country strong. They must also demonstrate by their policy that only by uniting, coordinating, giving impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle in all Latin American countries, and giving each other support and solidarity, particularly to the people engaged in armed struggle, can an effective reply be made to the continental strategy of domination by North American imperialism. By knowing each other, helping each other, coordinating, and giving impetus to the scattered efforts in the anti-imperialist struggle, our people will find the path to victory.

If the Latin American Solidarity Organization and the national committees that make it up advance in the fulfillment of these tasks, the future of our struggle is a future of joint struggle and solidarity, a future of success for our present efforts. The duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution!

THE ARAB WORLD
MAY 9, 1967

TODAY'S MAIN NEWS AND TRENDS
From Today's Latest News & Reports

Syria

SYRIAN GOVERNMENT DECLARES TWO SAUDI
DIPLOMATS PERSONA NON GRATA FOR THEIR
ALLEGED CONNECTION WITH "CONSPIRACY"

Assets of Sheikh Habanakah and 45 Merchants Are
Seized Under Order Of The Military Governor

Khalid Al Jundi, Labour Leader, Says Religion
Is "Opiate of People", Disagrees With Official
Line Atheistic Article Was of CIA Making, Notes
That Writer of Article In Army Weekly "Sincere"

The Syrian Government has declared the First and Second Secretaries of the Saudi Embassy in Damascus persona non grata and asked them to leave the country within 24 hours. They were accused of playing a role in the right-wing "plot" which the Syrian Regime said it has crushed. This was announced today by the state-run Damascus press.

The Syrian newspapers, furthermore, reported that assets of Sheikh Hassan Habanakah, head of the Syrian League of Ulama now under arrest for anti-regime sermons and activity, and 45 prominent merchants in Damascus have been seized by the state. The seizure was by order issued by the Syrian "Military Governor." A proclamation by the Military Governor earlier charged the US, Jordanian and Saudi rulers of being behind a plot against the Syrian revolutionary regime. A Syrian army officer who has returned to Amman from Jordan, where he had defected last September, claimed in a radio and television interview that Habanakah was agent in Damascus of Lt-Col. Selim Hatoum, the escaped Syrian officer said to be plotting a comeback to Syria from Jordan. Sheikh Habanakah had earlier been accused of working for the Saudis, and sponsoring, inside Syria, King Feisal's alleged bid to create an Islamic alliance.

Sheikh Habanakah is now posed by the Syrian regime as the symbol of "reaction" in Syria. According to press reports from the Syrian capital, Habanakah was arrested last Friday after he

Today's Main News & Trends, Cont'd

delivered a sermon at the mosque of his quarter, Al Midan, in Damascus, in which he denounced the Baathist regime as "Godless."

Although shops in other Damascus souks were forced open by the "Workers Militia", of the Federation of Labour, shops at Al Midan remained closed yesterday. Khalid Al Jundi, President of the Federation of Labour, declared in an interview with three foreign correspondents last night that he had sent a warning to merchants and residents of the Al Midan quarter that if shops and work shops did not open by 9 a.m. today men of the Workers Militia would reopen them by force.

Workers Militia and National Guardsmen had already reopened shuttered shops in the central town souks Sunday and yesterday, using sledge hammers to break padlocks, according to press reports this morning.

"Opiate Of the People." Khalid Al Jundi, who, with his Federation of Labour and Workers Militia, is symbol of the extremist faction of a regime already considered extreme by Arab standards, made rather interesting remarks in his interview with the three foreign correspondents last night. He declared that he disagreed with the "belief" by some of the Baath party leaders that the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was behind the atheistic article which had appeared in the military weekly, AL JAISH AL SHAABI --the article which had triggered off the current crisis in Syria. Jundi said that he rather thought the author had been sincere but that the article had been published without any clearance with the Government.

The author and editor of the magazine had been arrested and will be referred to trial. The proclamation by the Military Governor Sunday night (see our bulletin yesterday) accused CIA of being behind the article.

Jundi, in the interview, indicated that he himself was an atheist. He said that he adhered to the Marxist doctrine that religion "is the opiate of the people."

Jundi's statements were an example of extremism that characterizes the present regime in Syria, --although the other Baath leaders now in power may be milder. In fact, Jundi, in the interview, said that he disagreed with the government "mildness" in dealing with the "counter-revolutionaries." He said that some blood-letting "makes good revolutionary medicine", adding that he kind of hopes the strikers at Al Midan today would not respond to his call to open their shops, so strict measures could be applied against them. He said that they must be shown that the revolution will brook no interference.

No Neutralism. Jundi declared that "neutralism" in the world struggle between socialism and capitalism meant a partial victory for reaction. Socialist Syria, he said, must be completely wedded to the socialist camp. He said that the Baath Party doctrine of neutralism had been written by the right-wing leaders and founders of the Party, Michel Aflak and Salah Bitar, who were ousted in the mid-1960s.

Executions. Yesterday, the weekly AL ISHTIRAKI, which speaks for Jundi's Federation of Labour, demanded in an editorial that reactionaries in Syria should be treated in the same manner Egypt had treated leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood, when they plotted against the regime of President Nasser in 1965.

Since three of the Brotherhood leaders were executed after a court found them guilty of conspiracy against the regime, Beirut's independent right-wing AL JARIDA, reproducing excerpts from AL ISHTIRAKI's article, concluded that several right-wing Syrian leaders may be headed for execution. In fact, the paper's Damascus correspondent reported that the Syrian authorities have prepared a list of persons who will be referred to trial and executed.

Press Reports. Newspapers here today continued to lead with Syrian developments, and carried various reports about what is allegedly happening there. According to AL NAHAR, the Syrian Catholic and Greek Catholic bishops in Damascus were released after questioning by the authorities, and that more than ten Catholic clergymen in Damascus have been placed under house arrest. Also, there were reports that a number of Greek Orthodox clergymen were arrested in Hama after they had tried to march in a demonstration with Moslem Ulema under Hama's Mufti, Sheikh Mohammed Al Hamed.

Both AL NAHAR and AL HAYAT reported that about 120 civil servants have been arrested for signing a note protesting against the atheistic article in AL JAISH AL SHAABI. The movement, AL NAHAR said, had spread to the northern town of Aleppo. The paper said that Aleppo citizens mentioned that the real reason for the call for strike in the city was not only because of the article in question but also due to the general discontent which had spread among merchants and businessmen because of the regime's policies.

AL HAYAT said that clashes took place between the demonstrators in Damascus and security men, and that Damascenes Sunday and Saturday night heard explosions, which were said to have taken place near the head office of the Ruling Baath Party. AL HAYAT said that tanks and other military vehicles were sent to Damascus to try to keep order, and that Syrian leaders had been holding constant meetings at the Baath Party headquarters.

At its meeting yesterday, the Syrian Council of Ministers, under Premier Dr Youssef Zayyen, discussed what SANA, the Syrian official news agency, called "the conspiracies being prepared by imperialism and its agents in the area". The Council, the agency added, also discussed the "firm stand taken by the revolution to crush the plot and liquidate the remnants of reaction."

FIVE ESCAPE FROM JORDAN. Meanwhile, AL NAHAR reported in a private dispatch from Amman, that five Syrian army officers, who had defected to Jordan with Lt-Col. Hatoum, tried to escape to Syria last Sunday --but that only three made it. The escapees exchanged fire with the Jordanian border guards. One was hit, and another captured. The other three managed to cross into Syrian territory. [The three presumably include Hardan Al Zu'bi, the officer who appeared on Syrian television Sunday night to tell about Hatoum's alleged conspiracy against the Syrian regime -- see details on Pages 6&7].

الطريق نحو خلق انساننا العزلي الجديد

الانسان كوحدة فيزيولوجية ، يتجدد كل ثانية بل كل لحظة ، ولن اخوض هنا معركة اصل الانسان ... بل لا يهمني كليا ، ناكيد العلم على ان نقطة انطلاق الانسان ، كانت الخلية الحيوانية البليقة ، ومن ثم تطور وارتقى عبر العصور ، كمصري البليستوسين والميزوليثي (العصر الجليدي والعصر الحجري الوسيط) . الى ان أصبح بتكوينه الحالي ، ولا يهمني ايضا كيف سيصبح بعد حبة من الزمن ...

المنطلق الوحيد الذي يهمني ، ونقطة البداية التي ابني عليها فكري ، هي القيم الحضارية والاجتماعية والخلقية للانسان ، ولكل عصر من العصور انسان خاص ... ومن دراستنا لهذا الانسان ، نستطيع ان نكون فكرة كاملة من العصر . بل لكل قرن من المسيرة الزمنية للانسان انسان خاص ايضا .

فانسان الامس لا يصلح لليوم ... وانسان اليوم لا يصلح للغد ... وانسان الغد لا يصلح للمستقبل .

اريد ان اكرر القول : اني لا اعني الانسان ، كوحدة فيزيولوجية حياتية قائمة ... بل اعني القيم التي خلقها ذاك الانسان .

واما العرب اليوم ، تقف على حافة النهر ، تنظر بدعشة واستغراب وهم مقتوح ، الى جبل عتيق يرتفع في الاعالي مصارعا السحب ... بصرها بسهولة نادرة ... الى جانب الجبل ، يقف انسان اشقر ... سلطته على الجبل هجيبة !!! لا لشيء ، فقط لانه صانع الجبل ، تلقت امة العرب راسها الى الورا ... لتري جيلا آخر اقل ارتفاعا من نظيره ... لونه قاتم يدل على القدم ... الى جانب الجبل ، يقف انسان اسمر هزيل متواكل ... عدم سلطته على الجبل هجيبة !!! لا لشيء ، فقط لان صانع الجبل قد مات ، وليس هو الا حفيد الصانع ... لا يقوى على شيء البتة ... الانسان الاشقر ، استطاع ان ياخذ عنه صنع الجبل ، ومن ثم سلبه المعزبة والقدرة والارادة ، فكان له ما اراد ... امة العرب تطرق راسها الى الارض تفكر ...

- ٢٤ -

طائر التيهويا يحوم فوقها مفردا بصوته الحزين . (التيهويا طائر يبيت على الحزن والتفكير معا . اسطورة في جنوب افريقيا) .

اسئلة عديدة تراود ذهن امة العرب ... ماهي الطريق لبناء الجبل ؟ ماهو السبيل لرفع الجبل ؟ ماهي الوسيلة لتشييد حضارتنا من جديد ، ولتلحق بالركب الحضاري المتشدد ؟

استنجدت امة العرب بالاله ... فتشت عن القيم القديمة في الاسلام والمسيحية ، استعانت بالنظام الاقطاعي والراسمالي وبعض النظم المروفة في العصور الوسطى ، كل ذلك لم يجد شيئا ...

عند ذاك ، غادر طائر التيهويا امة العرب الى غير رجعة ، ما ان غادرها الطائر حتى فدت امة العرب باسمه مشرقة ، عندها عرفنا ان الحل اصبح واضحا كالانسان . وغدت الطريق امامها معبدة ميسورة ، الا من بعض الاشواك الرمية هنا وهناك على طول الطريق ، مع كل هذا ... شمرت امة العرب عن ساعدها ونظرت بعينها ... بعيدا ... لتري طفلها الوليد ، يقترب منها شيئا فشيئا ... وهذا الوليد ، ليس الا الانسان العربي الاشتراكي الجديد .

الانسان المتورد على جميع القيم المريضة الهزيلة في مجتمعه ... التي هي ليست الا وليدة الاقطاع والراسمال والاستعمار ... تلك القيم التي جعلت من الانسان العربي ، انسانا متخاذلا متواكلا ، انسانا جبريا مستسلما للقدر ، انسانا لا يعرف الا ان يقول : (لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم) .

اما القيم الجديدة التي ستخلق الانسان العربي الجديد ، فهي قيم نابعة من صلب الانسان المتورد المتذبذب ، نابعة من قلب الانسان الجائع ، نابعة من الانسان الاشتراكي الثوري الجديد ... انني لا يؤمن الا بالانسان وبالانسان وحده .

والطريق الوحيدة لتشييد حضارة العرب ، وبناء المجتمع العربي ، هي خلق الانسان الاشتراكي العربي الجديد ، الذي يؤمن ان : الله والاديان والاقطاع والراسمال والاستعمار والتخمين ...

وكل القيم التي سادت المجتمع السابق ليست الا دمي مخنطة في متاحف التاريخ .

ونحن اذ نشترط في انساننا الجديد ، رفضه للقيم السابقة ، علينا ان نضع فيما جديدة محددة . ليست هنالك سوى قيمة واحدة ، وهي الايمان المطلق بالانسان القنري الجديد ... الانسان الذي لا يمتثل الا على نفسه وعمله وما يقدمه للبشرية جمعاء ... لانه يعلم ان نهايته الحتمية ... الموت ... وليس غير الموت ، لن يكون هناك نعيم او جحيم ، بل سيصبح لذة تدور مع دوران الارض . لذلك هو مضطرا الى ان يقدم كل ما يملك لامته ولانسانيته دونما مقابل (كراوية صغيرة في الجنة مثلا) الا انه يريد ، ان يقال عنه بعد مماته ، كان انسانا عاملا حقا .

ونحن لسنا بحاجة ، لانسان يصلي ويركع خاشعا ذليلا ... يطلب الرحمة والغفران لنفسه ، لان خلاصة الصلاة كما قال « فروست » يا الهي امرني انا اهتمامك .

بل نحن بحاجة الى انسان اشتراكي لائق ، يؤمن بالانسان انه الحقيقة المطلقة ، يؤمن بالانسان المتورد الجائع ولا يؤمن بالانسان المتخم على حساب الآخرين ...

نحن بحاجة الى انسان يقول : لا ، لانها الطريق الى النعم كما قال (لبيز كامو) .

واذا كنا مصممين على بناء امتنا بناء متينا جبارا ... علينا بخلق انساننا العربي الجديد من خلال تلك القيم الثورية الجديدة .

وليست هنالك طريق غير هذه الطريق ...

لن نبكي ابدا على الانسان المتخاذل القديم ... الوريث الشرعي للقيم البالية المتحجرة ، كما بكنه (الاخت) غادة السماء ، حينما قرات مقالة (هل مات الله ؟) في التايم .

ماذا تفعلين يا غادة ... اذا قرات كتاب (الانسان يقوم وحده) لجوليان هكسلي ؟

اني اتغليك تنديين انسانك المهترى ، او تنديين نفسك باللعويل والصراخ ... واتصورك تقولين : انجدوليا يا حماة الدين ... لكن ... لن يكون صوتك هذا ، الا صدى لاصوات السابقين .

The sole path toward the re-birth of Arab civilization and the re-building of Arab society lies across the creation of the new Arab socialist man, who believes that God, religions, feudalism, capitalism, imperialism, those saturated with riches and all the values that dominated the society previously are merely mummified dummies in the museums of history.

While insisting in our new man upon his rejection of former values, still we feel we should lay down for him well defined new values. There is only one value, which is absolute faith in the new man of destiny. Faith that relies only upon his own self, his work and his contribution to humanity at large, because he knows that his certain end is...death...and nothing but death. There shall not be heaven nor hell, but he shall become an atom revolving along with the revolution of the earth. Thus he is called upon to offer, without any recompense (such for instance as a small corner in paradise) to his nation and humanity all that he owns. He would only ask that after his death it be told that he was a truly active man.

We are not in need of a submissive man who kneels down to pray devoutly, requesting grace and remittance for himself, because the essence of prayer as Proust has said, "Oh God, endow me with your attention."

Indeed we want a revolutionary socialist who believes that man is the absolute truth, who believes in rebelling hungry man, but who does not believe in the man who is saturated with riches at other's expense.

We need a man to say, "No," since through it lies the road to abundance, according to Albert Camus.

And if we are resolved to rebuild our nation upon a solid foundation, it is up to us to create our new Arab man through these new revolutionary values.

There is no other way.

We shall not mourn the old defeatist man, lawful heir to obsolete and petrified values, as he was mourned by Sister Ghadat As-Samman after she had read Time's article, "Is God Dead?"

What would you, Oh Ghadat, do were you to read Julian Huxley's book, "Man Alone Speaks?" I can imagine you mourning your disintegrated man as you supplicate the protectors of religion to save you, yet your voice can only be an echo of the past.

The Road to the Creation of Our New Arab Man

Man, as a physiological unit, renews himself each second. But I do not here propose to delve into the origins of man from his erstwhile animal state, through the ice and stone ages, to his present state of being. Nor do I care what man's state will be like at a later period in time.

My sole concern rather is with man's moral, social, and civilized values. Each epoch produces its own type of man, a study of whom enables us to form a complete picture of the epoch to which he belongs. Thus yesterday's man is not fit for today; today's man would not fit tomorrow and tomorrow's man would not fit the future.

Let me repeat: By man I do not mean his physiological entity, but the values which he has helped to create.

The Arab nation today is posed at the river's edge as it looks up in wonderment at a mountain reaching for the stars. By that mountain side stands a fair-haired man whose power over the mountain is miraculous only because it was he who built it. Turning its head backward, the Arab nation perceives another, though lower mountain. By its side stands a dark-complexioned and emaciated man. The total absence of power he possesses over his mountain is equally miraculous, because the mountain's creator is dead and he is only a grandchild incapable of any effort whatsoever. For, the fair-haired man had taken away from him the art of mountain building and, in addition, the values of will power, ability and know-how.

The Arab nation stands with its head bent in deep thought. Above the "Taitahwya" (a South African bird that portends both mourning and meditation) wails its mournful song. Many are the questions that cross the Arab nation's mind: How to rebuild our mountain? How to revive our civilization? The Arab nation sought help from the God, searched for old values in Islam and Christianity, and assisted by feudalism and capitalist systems with other systems known during the Middle Ages, but all of that was to no avail. Presently the "Taitahwya" flies away and the Arab nation rejoices. We know now that deliverance is within our reach and our path thereto looks straight and well-defined. Braced for action, the Arab nation from afar perceives its new-born child gradually drawing closer and closer. This new-born is none other than the new Arab socialist man, the man who revolted against feeble and sick values of his society that were merely the result of feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. Those values that made out of the Arab man a weak, inactive person, surrendering his destiny to fate, knowing nothing except saying, "Nothing can be done except by the will of the mighty God."

As for the inherent values in this new man, these spring from the rebelling soul of tortured hungry man--the new revolutionary socialist who only believes in man alone.